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Pentagon Study Traces 3 Decades of Growing U.S. Role in Indochina

By Neil Sheehan

NEW YORK (NYT)—A vast study of how the United States went to war in Indochina, conducted by the Pentagon three years ago, demonstrates that four administrations progressively developed a sense of commitment to non-Communist Vietnam, a readiness to fight the North to protect the South and an ultimate frustration with this effort—to a much greater extent than their public statements acknowledged at the time.

The 3,000-page analysis, to which 4,000 pages of official documents are appended, was written at the order of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and covers the American involvement in Southeast Asia from World War II to the spring of 1968—two months after President Lyndon B. Johnson set a limit on further military commitments and revealed his decision to retire. Most of the secret study and many of the appended documents have been obtained by The New York Times and will be described and presented in a series of articles beginning today.

The 2.5-million-word study led its 30 to 40 authors and researchers to many broad conclusions and specific findings, including the following:

- That the Harry Truman administration's decision to give military aid to France in its colonial war against the Communist-led Viet Minh "directly involved" the United States in Vietnam and "set" the course of American policy.
- That the Dwight Eisenhower administration's decision to rescue a fledgling South Vietnam from a Communist takeover and attempt to undermine the new Communist regime of North Vietnam gave it a "direct role in the ultimate breakdown of the Geneva settlement" for Indochina in 1954.
- That the John F. Kennedy administration, although ultimately spared from major escalation decisions by the death of its leader, transformed a policy of "limited-risk gamble," which it inherited into a "broad commitment" that left President Lyndon B. Johnson with a choice between more war and withdrawal.
- That the Johnson administration, although its President was reluctant and hesitant to make the final decisions, intensified the covert warfare against North Vietnam and began planning in the spring of 1964 to wage overt war, a full year before it publicly revealed the depth of its involvement and its fear of defeat.



Robert S. McNamara, announcing his resignation as defense secretary in November, 1967.

U.S. Plea To India, Pakistan

Urges Restraint By Both Nations

By Tad Szulc

WASHINGTON, June 13 (NYT)—Citing the dangers of any military escalation between India and Pakistan, the United States appealed yesterday to both governments to exercise restraint and urged the Pakistanis to restore normal conditions in East Pakistan through "peaceful political accommodations."

This was the first public U.S. statement on the political situation in the subcontinent since the Pakistani Army began quelling the independence movement in East Pakistan last March 25. It clearly reflected the mounting concern here that hostilities may erupt between India and Pakistan if the enormous flow of refugees is not halted.

The most up-to-date figures available to the State Department indicated that more than five million refugees from East Pakistan have already fled to India. This represents more than 7 percent of the total population. Refugees were reported still streaming over the border at a rate in excess of 100,000 daily as

• That this campaign of growing clandestine military pressure through 1964 and the expanding program of bombing North Vietnam in 1965 were begun despite the judgment of the government's intelligence community that they would not cause Hanoi to cease its support of the Viet Cong insurgency in the South and that the bombing was deemed militarily ineffective within a few months.

• That these four succeeding administrations built up the American political, military and psychological stages in Indochina, often more deeply than they realized at the time, with large-scale military equipment to the French in 1950; with acts of sabotage and terror warfare (Continued on Page 6, Col. 1)



MR. AND MRS. EDWARD FINCH COX—Holding hands and posing on the White House balcony after their marriage in the Rose Garden on Saturday. Story on Page 3.

Israeli Ship Attacked in Aden Gulf

Canal Clash Adds to Tension

HAIFA, June 13 (AP)—A mysterious attack on an Israeli-chartered oil tanker in the Gulf of Aden and firing on the Suez Canal 1,300 miles away injected sudden tension today into the militarily dormant Middle East conflict.

The tanker was hit on Friday by a rocket fired from a speedboat as it passed through the Bab el-Mandeb Strait linking the Gulf of Aden to the Red Sea between French Somaliland and the Arabian peninsula.

[The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) said tonight it was responsible for the attack. United Press International reported.]

An official communiqué issued after an Israeli cabinet meeting said Premier Golda Meir viewed the attack "against a civilian vessel as it passed through international waters."

"Israel expects action to be taken by the maritime powers to prevent such terrorist activity," the communiqué said, adding that Israel would adopt "all necessary measures to ensure free civilian navigation to its ports."

Fertility-Drug Mother 'Well'

Woman Gives Birth to Nine In Australia, Seven Still Alive

SYDNEY, June 13 (AP)—Nine babies were born to a 35-year-old woman here early this morning and seven were still alive tonight.

Doctors said three of the survivors had breathing difficulties and one was receiving respirator treatment. The condition of the other four was satisfactory considering their size and premature birth.

All the babies weigh between 1 and 2 pounds.

Their mother, Mrs. Geraldine Brodick, is well and is resting "catching up on some sleep," doctors said. She has not seen or nuzzled any of the infants.

Mrs. Brodick had taken fertility drugs to correct hormonal disorder. She, and her husband, 32, a meat salesman, have 11 children—Bella, 5, and a quadruplet, 4, both born by cesarean section.

The latest announcement on a multiple birth—reported here by a world record—was made hours after the five boys and girls were born naturally in minutes just before dawn today. Two of the boys were born.

Doctors would not comment on any of survival for these young to life. Soon after the birth, Dr. John Greenwell, medical superintendent of the hospital, said, "Danger to the babies is small. The next 48 hours are critical."

The Brodicks, who live in a suburb, have sold the rights to their story to a Sydney newspaper, radio and television group on undisclosed terms.

Mrs. Brodick, a former nurse, entered a hospital three weeks after tests showed she was likely to have septuplets.

Five days ago, doctors advised that further tests indicated the babies would be born in a few days.

In a brief interview, Mr. Brodick said, "I am very happy. I've seen Geraldine and she is well."

Mr. Brodick has been living in the hospital, in the inner-city suburb of Paddington, for the last few days. Medical teams have been on standby since Friday.



FAMOUS MOTHER—Mrs. Geraldine Brodick, being kissed by husband Len, 10 hours after she gave birth to nine children in Australia.

Gunman Wounded, Wanted to Go to Hanoi

U.S. Hijacker Kills 1, Is Captured

NEW YORK, June 13 (UPI)—A young Haitian immigrant, demanding to be flown to North Vietnam, shot and killed a passenger who tried to jump him when he hijacked a jetliner yesterday in Chicago. After a gun battle in the air he was shot by an FBI agent and arrested when the plane landed in New York.

Robert E. Elder, 42, he wanted to go to North Vietnam. He also demanded \$75,000 ransom and a machine gun and ammunition.

As the crew persuaded White to release three passengers trapped at the rear of the plane, U.S. Deputy Marshal Joseph Zito, 39, who was assigned to O'Hare to check passengers for guns, crawled through the cockpit window dressed in a TWA flight suit.

The airline prepared a 707 at Kennedy International Airport in case it were needed.

Miss Culver, who sat with the hijacker at the start of the flight, described him as "a very nervous type of person, but said she was impressed that he really seemed concerned for his family. He is married and the father of two."

Thirty minutes into the two-hour flight, the hijacker told Miss Culver he wanted to "check out the back of the plane."

Mr. Zito, who had been watching the gunman through a one-way mirror in the door of the flight cabin, went into action.

"I took two shots at him in the rear of the plane," he said. "He fell behind a seat."

Unable to see the hijacker, Mr. Zito handed his gun to First Officer Ronald J. Dupuis, 31, who shot twice more.

The hijacker fired three shots in return. One of them, Mr. Dupuis said, "missed me by two inches."

The vessel continued to sail for Israel and was expected to reach the Red Sea port of Eilat tomorrow.

The Bab el-Mandeb strait, 20 miles wide, has often been mentioned as a remote, but possible new flashpoint for a Mideast war. The strait is dominated by the Arab Republics of Aden and Yemen which once threatened to shut the strait to Israeli shipping. This was not done, but a senior Israeli official said at the time such a move could push his country to military action.

Stewardess Catherine Culver, 24, tried to stop him because he did not have a boarding pass, but before she could call for help, White dragged her from the front of the plane to the middle of the cabin. "He has a gun," she screamed.

Most of the passengers, still near the forward entrance, ran from the plane, but one man, Howard Franks, 65, rushed to the stewardess's aid. Mr. Franks, a management consultant, scuffled with the gunman and was killed with one shot in the head and another in the back.



When the plane touched down at Kennedy, the hijacker shouted, "I'm hit. I've had enough. I'm coming down."

On the hijacker's orders, Miss Culver, Capt. Elder, Mr. Dupuis, Mr. Zito and the flight engineer, Don E. Weishauer, slid down an emergency escape chute, leaving him alone in the plane.

Spotting an FBI agent who had climbed up the side of the aircraft, the hijacker fired but missed him. The agent fired back, hitting the hijacker in the shoulder, the FBI said. White apparently had lied in saying earlier that he was "hit."

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Hijacker—Gregory White, 23, at Queens General Hospital in New York where he was treated for a wound he received when he tried to hijack a 727 Saturday.

The FBI agent who wounded the hijacker was identified by police sources as William Mulvaney, the same agent who 13 days earlier arrested an accused hijacker, James E. Bennett, 40, a former New York City policeman who commandeered an Eastern Air Lines plane.

U.S. Navy Warns on Russians Controlling the Mediterranean

By Michael Getler

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI)—The Navy's top leaders say that the balance of power in the Mediterranean is slipping so rapidly in Moscow's favor that in another year the United States will be unable to stop a joint Soviet-Egyptian thrust across the Suez Canal and into Israel.

These high-ranking officials say that if such a situation developed after mid-1972, their recommendation to President Nixon, based purely on military grounds, would be to let Israel be overrun.

While the President might disagree, the Navy's view is that the balance of power in the Mediterranean is slipping so rapidly in Moscow's favor that in another year the United States will be unable to stop a joint Soviet-Egyptian thrust across the Suez Canal and into Israel.

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According to the Navy, that requests to transit troops would probably have been turned down by NATO countries, including France, whose territory would have been crossed.

In an interview on Friday, Navy leaders expressed none of the optimism which has been apparent lately regarding the prospects for reduced military tensions between the United States and Russia.

On the recently announced attempt by Washington and Moscow to break the deadlock at the strategic arms limitations talks, the Navy view is that the United States seized such an agreement "because it was the best one we could get."

He emphasized that such a "political accommodation" was essential to stem the flow of refugees and to create conditions permitting their return home.

Other U.S. officials said that this view was privately communicated on two recent occasions to the Pakistani government "on the highest level" by the American Ambassador, Joseph Farland. It was also conveyed by Mr. Sisco to the Pakistani ambassador here, Agha Hakeem.

However, the State Department yesterday chose to publicize these diplomatic efforts. Another opportunity to try to stabilize the explosive situation on the subcontinent will come later this week when Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh meets here with President Nixon and Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

regard such advice, the Navy's view is that the time is fast approaching when the United States will not be able to help stop such an attack.

These military leaders back their assessment by citing the buildup of new Soviet ships, submarines and bases in the Mediterranean in contrast to the smaller and older U.S. Sixth Fleet and the loss of all U.S. air and naval bases in the Middle East.

NATO Not Involved

They say the situation is further complicated because any overt U.S. defense of Israel in a severe crisis would not involve NATO. Thus allies in Central and Southern Europe might be reluctant to get involved by giving permission for American troop transports and fighter-bombers based in Europe to overfly their countries.

Thus women emerged from their traditional roles as housewife and mother, entering the political and business fields previously dominated by males. There is no reason to believe that women will not also approach equality with men in the criminal activity field.

FBI arrest figures indicate that the trend toward more crime by women is accelerating. From 1964 to 1969, the female rate rose faster than the male rate in seven of the bureau's 30 categories. From 1968 to 1969, the rise in crime for women was greater in 24 categories.

Individual cities report similar patterns. In Cincinnati, women accounted for 17.5 percent of all larcenies in 1969. Ten years later they committed 37 percent of the larcenies.

In Boston, Judge Francis G. Poitras of the Juvenile Court said that he used to see 10 boys in his courtroom for every girl. Now the ratio is 3 to 1.

U.S. Women's Crimes Up Sharply Over Men's

Some Experts See Drug Culture Potent Factor in Phenomenon

Left Loses Vote in Chile Campus

SANTIAGO, Chile, June 13 (AP)—The leftist Popular Unity coalition of Marxist Salvador Allende Gossens' government suffered a defeat Friday in its efforts to assume control of the University of Chile, the biggest diversity in the country.

Results from Thursday's voting showed students, faculty, and employees re-elected Prof. Edgardo Seneor as university rector, a move supported by the Christian Democratic party, the biggest opposition group in Chile, and independently.

Most experts in the field agree that the phenomenon has many causes. But the main explanation seems to be that women have more opportunities than they used to have for all kinds of activities, legal and illegal. As Sheriff Pittsness put it:

"As women emerge from their traditional roles as housewife and mother, entering the political and business fields previously dominated by males, there is no reason to believe that women will not also approach equality with men in the criminal activity field."

White was ordered held in \$300,000 bail on two counts of having assaulted a federal officer. The FBI said he probably would be returned to Chicago in a few days to face homicide and air piracy charges.

During an airport news conference, Mr. Zito told reporters: "By the way, this is my first flight. And I was very scared."

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Shipping sources reported later that the speedboat came racing out from among a cluster of fishing boats, fired about a dozen shots, and vanished.

There were 38 crewmen aboard, 23 of them Israeli, and a Greek captain. The ship was built in 1966, and is owned by the Darius Tanker Corp. of Monrovia, Liberia. Its top speed is 18 knots.

Belgian Minister Explores Peace Pact in Mideast

DAMASCUS, June 13 (Reuters)—Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel announced here today that his country was working towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

After talks with Syrian leaders, Mr. Harmel said Belgium conceived of a solution in accordance with United Nations resolutions.

Mr. Harmel said Belgium, in its current capacity as a Security Council member, realized the importance of settling the crisis and that was why it sought information on the spot. He added that he will visit Lebanon and Egypt, and go to Israel late in July.

French Test A-Bomb Over Pacific Lagoon

PARIS, June 13 (AP)—France exploded an experimental atomic device of medium power yesterday at its Pacific test site, the Defense Ministry announced.

The ministry said the blast was set off over the lagoon of Mururoa. The test was the second of a series of six to eight that was announced two weeks ago. It was France's 40th since it exploded its first atom bomb on Feb. 13, 1960, at a Sahara Desert test site.

Pakistan Army Scorches Border; Bengali Guerrillas Train in India

SHIKHARPUR, India, June 13 (AP)—The Pakistan Army has launched a scorched-earth operation along the frontier between East Pakistan and India, according to Indian military and civilian authorities on the spot.

President Yahya Khan's troops are burning frontier villages, destroying jute and sugar-cane plantations and ordering those inhabitants who have not already fled to India to pull back at least five miles from the border, the Indians report.

The operation seems designed as a defensive measure against guerrilla attacks by East Pakistani secessionist forces—the Mukhti Fauj—building up their strength in the safety of Indian territory.

The operation has resulted in yet more refugees crossing into India from the scorched-earth belt, although they are coming over in far fewer numbers than in recent weeks.

The Pakistan Army has attempted to seal the border, but refugees are still sneaking through at night.

Youths in Training

There seem sound military reasons for the Pakistani precautions. Newsweek reported the Indian side of the border area

guards stood sentry at the entrance. In the camp was a truckload of Sikh light infantry, turbaned troops of the Indian regular army.

"We are just here to supervise the population of refugees," an Indian Army officer explained.

A captain of the Mukhti Fauj asserted the camp was a transit point at which Bangla Desh—Bengal nation—soldiers received some initial military training. It was not an operational base, he said.

In the grounds of a nearby Christian mission was what the officer described as a Bangla Desh youth camp. The youths were in khaki battle dress.

50-Mile Death Trail

Shikharpur is the beginning of a 50-mile death trail along which tens of thousands of East Pakistani refugees poured into India earlier this month.

Mainly Hindus, they came from towns like Faridpur and Kishna, deep in the interior of East Pakistan. With them they brought cholera, and they died in their hundreds.

The road to Krishnagar, 50 miles away, is marked by mass graves and the rags and sleeping mats of refugees who dropped by the wayside. Many graves have been flushed open by monsoon rains and dogs and vultures fallen on the bodies.

District Officer D.K. Ghosh reported 400,000 refugees flooded across the border in the Shikharpur area between May 24 and June 2.

Trains to Detention

BASNABAD, India, June 13 (Reuters)—The great refugee rail-lift has speeded up, with several trains a day leaving West Bengal loaded with East Pakistani refugees for a desolate area in central India.

Many of the refugees are reluctant to leave for the remote spot in Madhya Pradesh State, but a refugee camp official said, "there is no other way."

Two trains carrying 2,800 refugees have already left this station on the border of East Pakistan, and a third train was due to leave around midnight tonight with more than 1,000.

Trains are also leaving from Basnabad, 15 miles east of Calcutta.

Three big Soviet Antonov transport aircraft are due to arrive at Calcutta's Dum Airport tomorrow night and start ferrying refugees to Basnabad, 550 miles to the southwest.

U.S. Planes

Four American C-130 transport planes are due to start ferrying refugees from Tripura territory to Gauhati, in Assam, on Wednesday.

Sources said it was possible the American aircraft would also start taking refugees direct to Basnabad.

Once in Basnabad, the refugees again face serious problems. The Bengali-speaking refugees will find themselves among Hindi-speaking people in an area where there is a water shortage and wheat and other grains are grown. The refugees are rice-eaters.

Attempts to settle refugees in the Madhya Pradesh area in 1967 and 1968, when India and Pakistan divided, did not meet with conspicuous success.

Calcutta Bars Refugees

CALCUTTA, June 13 (UPI)—The mayor of Calcutta banned East Pakistani refugees from his city yesterday and asked the state government to help keep them out.

Calcutta, a city of six million, had been on the verge of breakdown because of disease, unemployment and poverty even before the rebellion in nearby East Pakistan began March 25, officials said.

Mayor Shyam Sunder Gupta said the refugees would bring cholera and would compete for jobs already going to the city's already unemployed.

He estimated that about 100,000 refugees already are in Calcutta.

Hanoi Leaders Are Re-Elected By New Assembly

HONG KONG, June 13 (Reuters)—North Vietnam's new National Assembly has re-elected almost all the nation's top leaders, including its 83-year-old president, Tan Duc Thang.

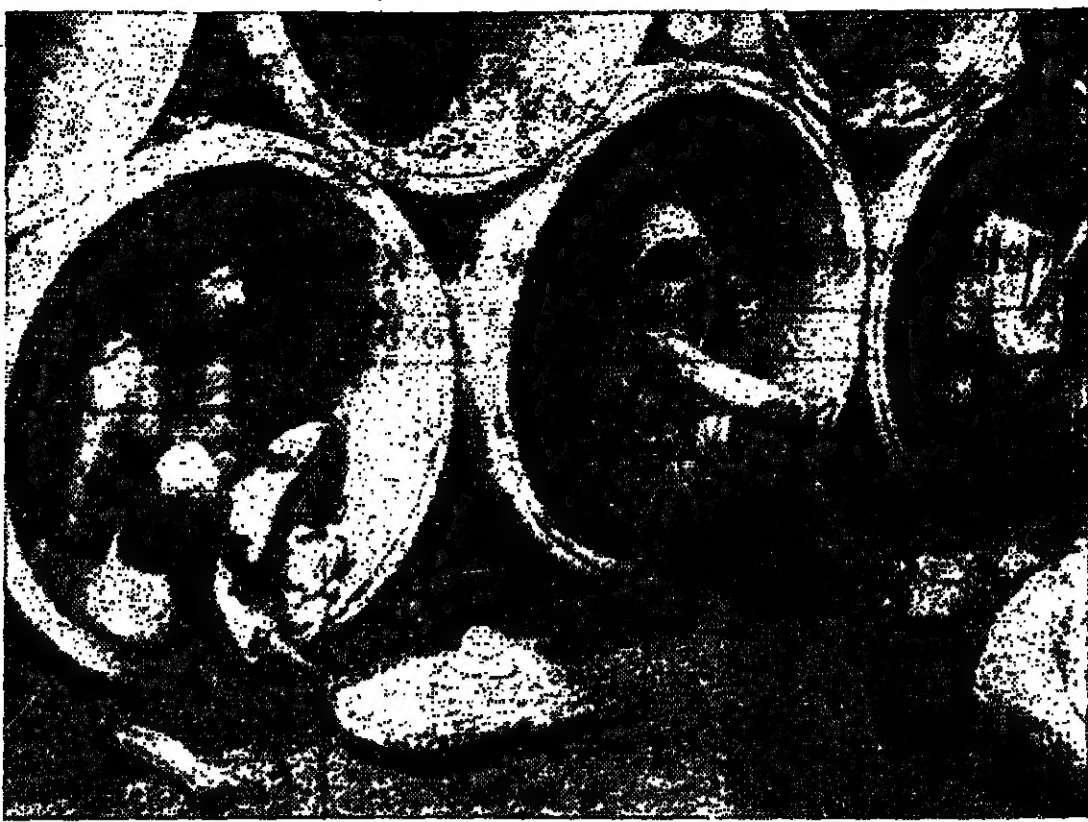
They were named at the first session of the assembly last week in Hanoi, the North Vietnamese press agency reported yesterday.

President Thang stepped into the post when President Ho Chi Minh died in 1969.

American experts in Saigon said his election as president and chairman of the National Defense Council could indicate his emergence as more than a figurehead.

North Vietnam is believed to be ruled by a triumvirate—the Communist party leader, Le Duan, Premier Pham Van Dong and Truong Chinh, chairman of the National Assembly's standing committee.

Premier Pham Van Dong, 63, was re-elected. So, too, was Truong Chinh, Hanoi's ideologist.



CASUALTIES OF WAR—Poor and bewildered East Pakistan refugee families fashion makeshift homes in pile of concrete pipes at a refugee camp near Calcutta, India.

Turning a Car Churns Rumor Mill in Warsaw

WARSAW, June 13 (UPI)—A car carrying the Chinese Ambassador to Poland backed into a driveway of the U.S. Embassy here Friday, starting a rumor that diplomatic talks were under way between Washington and Peking.

The ambassador, Yao Kuang, was actually on his way to the Swiss Embassy next door and his driver was backing around to park the car properly.

But the sight of the vehicle, bearing the Peking envoy's flag, apparently emerging from the U.S. Embassy driveway was enough to set phones ringing.

Inevitably the rumors reached U.S. Embassy officials, setting off a flurry of internal checking and counterchecking. One aide was moved to mutter, "Why doesn't anybody tell me what's going on around here?"

Mr. Yao's car was found to be parked next to the Swiss Embassy, setting some minds at ease.

Harriman Says Nixon Support Of Thieu Slows Withdrawal

By Tad Szulc

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI)—W. Averell Harriman, former chief United States representative at the Vietnam peace talks in Paris, said Friday that the Nixon administration is unwilling to discuss a date for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam because "it is quite clear" that the President "wants to see the present government in Saigon maintained."

Mr. Harriman, in testimony before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee, said there would be "no problem" in getting American prisoners released from North Vietnam if the United States set a firm withdrawal date.

Mr. Harriman supported the plan offered Tuesday by Clark M. Clifford, former Secretary of Defense.

Under Mr. Clifford's plan, the Communists would agree to release the prisoners 30 days after the Nixon set a date for withdrawal.

Mr. Clifford's proposal was put forth as the Senate began debating the McGovern-Hartfield amendment, which would require the withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam by the end of this year.

No Discussion

Mr. Harriman said that the Nixon administration was unwilling to discuss the Clifford proposal.

The "end-of-the-war" amendment, sponsored by Sens. George S. McGovern, D., S.D., and Mark O. Hatfield, R., Ore., will come to a vote on Wednesday. Indications are that it will be defeated by at least ten votes.

The amendment's supporters seem to be trying to force the administration to concede that its reluctance to set a withdrawal date is related to the preservation

of the Saigon government and not to the issue of prisoners of war.

If this could be accomplished, those backing the amendment believe, then some of the wavering senators might be won over to the McGovern-Hartfield amendment.

An administration official said privately that the United States request at the Paris talks Thursday for a secret meeting on the prisoner issue was made "with one eye on the Wednesday vote and the Clifford plan."

Acceptable to Hanoi

Mr. Clifford said that "word was brought back from a credible source" that his plan is acceptable to Hanoi and that the prisoners could be "promptly" released.

He refused to identify his sources but said he has been in regular touch with persons who have been traveling to Hanoi and Paris and is convinced the Communist attitude is changing.

Mr. Clifford said, however, that he had no contact with "normal representatives" of North Vietnam or the Viet Cong.

If Mr. Nixon does not set the withdrawal date, Mr. Clifford said, "the most acute peril will face us."

He said Communist pressures would then force the United States to halt the gradual withdrawal, or "even reverse the process" and "increase the bombings."

This, he said, would lead to "crises in our policy and our country."

Tokyo Quake Recorded

TOKYO, June 13 (UPI)—A light earthquake shook buildings and other structures in Tokyo today but was not strong enough to cause injuries or damage.

Officials conceded that the quality of the intelligence on the enemy's infiltration activities has gone down recently as small teams made up of South Vietnamese and of Montagnard tribesmen have taken over the trail-

watching missions. But they said there are other means of collecting information, among them aerial reconnaissance and special sensors planted along the trail.

American participation in the missions had come under a secret military unit known officially as the Studies and Observation Group. Established in 1964 as a joint venture of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Army,

the group has been expanded to include the Navy and the Air Force. In 1968, the unit was authorized to watch trail spots targets for American troops. The informants of these tasks were under the Army alone, with participation. In late early 1967, similar activity was extended to the Navy and the Air Force without participation of the CIA.

Although the size of the unit consisted of nine men and six Vietnamese, Montagnard tribesmen, height of this activity, it is as many as 30 teams in the area, with no more than two or three operating at one time. Missions were said to be from several hours to several days.

The view from the Navy high command is that Soviet strategy over the next few years will seek to take advantage of what the Navy sees as a steadily weakening U.S. military posture, especially at sea.

Officials say that Israel is not the only possible flash point. They say that a Soviet-backed move by North Korea against South Korea would also be extremely hard for the United States to counter with conventional weapons.

The Soviet strategy, as the Navy sees it, will be to focus on those areas of the Middle East, Indian Ocean and Asia—which do not involve NATO in order to keep the U.S. reasonably isolated from any additional support.

The Navy says that attacks against Israel and renewed action in Korea are not inevitable, but they cite these two examples as the type of thing likely to occur if the United States drops its defenses any lower.

Navy officials also believe that the Russians will engage in a continuing series of actions in much less volatile areas to test U.S. resolve before attempting anything on a larger scale.

High-ranking officers say they are convinced that the Russians want to keep the Middle East unstable as a way to insure their continued presence in Egypt.

Mr. Laird indicated that there was no consensus among the NATO allies on whether naval forces should be included in discussions on Warsaw Pact-NATO force reductions.

Mr. Laird was interviewed on the Columbia Broadcasting System's television panel program "Face the Nation." Most of the questions concerned Vietnam.

Laird Warns NATO

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI)—Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird said today that the strengthening grip of Russian forces in the Mediterranean made it "important for NATO to be looking into that situation very carefully."

The size of Russia's Mediterranean squadron ranges from 40 to 70 ships, according to Western sources. A dozen submarines are usually included in the strike force, as well as one of the Soviet Union's helicopter carriers. It was not known here how many ships were present in the area during the visit.

The decision to call attention to the visit seemed also to emphasize Moscow's duty to remind the United States and Israel of its military presence in the area and to dramatize the relative permanence of the squadron, despite periodic expressions of concern from Western leaders.

Mr. Brezhnev, on Friday night, talked about the growing pres-

Convoy Ambushed in Vietnam

A Huge Ammunition Dump Blows Up in Phnom Penh

PHNOM PENH, June 13 (Reuters)—Tons of mines, rockets and mortar shells stored in a big ammunition dump here blew up today in a series of explosions which shook the Cambodian capital through the day and injured at least ten people.

Rescue teams hunted for possible survivors in the rubble at the camp, built on a sports field, and a nearby apartment building which crumbled during the explosions.

The first detonation came at breakfast time and explosions continued for ten hours.

"We cannot say it was an accident. We cannot say it was sabotage. We just don't know," a Cambodian spokesman said.

Soldiers combed nearby streets collecting unexploded mortar shells and grenades hurled out of the dump.

American demolition experts from the U.S. Embassy departed a number of unexploded shells.

Firemen were driven back by flying ammunition and debris from the dump, housed in concrete buildings in the middle of a sports complex built by China in 1968.

Sources said that wounded troops in a nearby hospital were quickly evacuated as rocket and mortar shells flashed through the sky and rubble filled nearby streets. At one point a fireball 400 feet high rose over the sports arena.

Salmon Convoy Ambushed

SAIGON, June 13 (UPI)—Communist forces ambushed a

40-vehicle allied convoy on way 19 in the Central Hg and mined a civilian bus same region in incidents killed or wounded 37, p military spokesman said t

Field reports said three Vietnamese soldiers and Korean civilians working U.S. construction firm RAC were killed in the ambush day and four American a four Vietnamese troops at Korean soldiers were woun

The convoy was traveling a security force of U.S. mounted vehicles and Vietnamese troops from the port Nhon to Pleiku Province, I under heavy small-arms a tomatic weapons fire as it a curve six miles east Khe, about 240 miles n Saigon, field reports said

One U.S. gun-mount was destroyed and seven trucks damaged. Spokes Saigon reported that at le of the ambushers were the fighting.

About an hour before built, 11 Vietnamese civil killed and nine wounded bus in which they were detonated a mine on Hg

U.S. F-4G bombers trained nearly 500 tons phosphors over mountains Demilitarized Zone heaviest concentration by the jets on a sing area in South Vietnam months, U.S. military a said.

Americans on Raids in Laos Are Barred by White House

By William Beecher

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI)—The Nixon administration has decided that Americans will no longer be permitted to enter southern Laos as leaders of teams seeking weapons on the way north along the Ho Chi Minh Trail network.

Before the South Vietnamese drive into Laos in February and March, Americans had been assigned to such missions. But they were then barred for fear that an embarrassing incident might arise that would appear to contradict President Nixon's pledge that no American military men would be involved in ground combat in that Laotian campaign.

Well-placed Nixon administration sources said that plans to resume the use of Americans on trail-watching teams after the South Vietnamese drive ended had been vetoed by officials at the White House and the Pentagon.

The information said that the decision has been made partly because of growing congressional criticism of American military activity in Laos and partly because all military missions are being turned over to the South Vietnamese as the United States disengages from the war.

Officials conceded that the quality of the intelligence on the enemy's infiltration activities has gone down recently as small teams made up of South Vietnamese and of Montagnard tribesmen have taken over the trail-

watching missions. But they said there are other means of collecting information, among them aerial reconnaissance and special sensors planted along the trail.

American participation in the missions had come under a secret military unit known officially as the Studies and Observation Group. Established in 1964 as a joint venture of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Army,

the group has been expanded to include the Navy and the Air Force. In 1968, the unit was authorized to watch trail spots targets for American troops. The informants of these tasks were under the Army alone, with participation. In late early 1967, similar activity was extended to the Navy and the Air Force without participation of the CIA.

Although the size of the unit consisted of nine men and six Vietnamese, Montagnard tribesmen, height of this activity, it is as many as 30 teams in the area, with no more than two or three operating at one time. Missions were said to be from several hours to several days.

The view from the Navy high command is that Soviet strategy over the next few years will seek to take advantage of what the Navy sees as a steadily weakening U.S. military posture, especially at sea.

Officials say that Israel is not the only possible flash point. They say that a Soviet-backed move by North Korea against South Korea would also be extremely hard for the United States to counter with conventional weapons.

The Soviet strategy, as the Navy sees it, will be to focus on those areas of the Middle East, Indian Ocean and Asia—which do not involve NATO in order to keep the U.S. reasonably isolated from any additional support.

The Navy says that attacks against Israel and renewed action in Korea are not inevitable, but they cite these two examples as the type of thing likely to occur if the United States drops its defenses any lower.

Navy officials also believe that the Russians will engage in a continuing series of actions in much less volatile areas to test U.S. resolve before attempting anything on a larger scale.

High-ranking officers say they are convinced that the Russians want to keep the Middle East unstable as a way to insure their continued presence in Egypt.

Mr. Laird indicated that there was no consensus among the NATO allies on whether naval forces should be included in discussions on Warsaw Pact-NATO force reductions.

Mr. Laird was interviewed on the Columbia Broadcasting System's television panel program "Face the Nation." Most of the questions concerned Vietnam.

Laird Warns NATO

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI)—Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird said today that the strengthening grip of Russian forces in the Mediterranean made it "important for NATO to be looking into that situation very carefully."

The size of Russia's Mediterranean squadron ranges from 40 to 70 ships, according to Western sources. A dozen submarines are usually included in the strike force, as well as one of the Soviet Union's helicopter carriers. It was not known here how many ships were present in the area during the visit.

The decision to call attention to the visit seemed also to emphasize Moscow's duty to remind the United States and Israel of its military presence in the area and to dramatize the relative permanence of the squadron, despite periodic expressions of concern from Western leaders.

Mr. Brezhnev, on Friday night, talked about the growing pres-

Reporter Accompanied Troops

W. Pakistan Newsman Says Army Slaughtered Easterners

LONDON, June 13 (UPI)—A West Pakistani journalist who accompanied the Pakistan Army when it crushed the independence movement in East Pakistan alleged yesterday that the government troops "deliberately massacred" people in East Bengal.

Anthony Mascarenhas, who was assistant editor of the Karachi Morning News, was one of eight West Pakistani reporters allowed by the military government to visit East Pakistan in April, about two weeks after two army divisions were flown in. He gave up his home and job in West Pakistan, arranged for his family to leave the country, and flew here to write his account for today's editions of the London Sunday Times.

According to Mr. Mascarenhas, the newsman who visited East Pakistan were permitted to report only the military of East Pakistani troops on March 25 and 26, and the atrocities they committed against non-Bengalis. The reporters were not allowed to describe the army's action against the rebels, or even to mention the danger of famine, he related.

Mr. Mascarenhas writes that the Pakistan government has suppressed "the second and worse horror which followed when its own army took over the killing."

He says that officials in West Pakistan privately estimate that 250,000 persons have been killed by both sides in the fighting—not including those who have died from hunger or disease.

"Kill-Burn" Missions

In his account—the first published in the West by a journalist who accompanied the army—Mr. Mascarenhas says the army sought out and shot rebels, Hindus and students. He describes what he said were "kill and burn" missions, in which the soldiers shot Hindus and burned their homes.

Repeatedly, he wrote, soldiers searched suspects for signs of circumlocution, which is obligatory for Muslims. "I saw Hindus," he writes, "hunted from village to village and door to door, shot off-hand after a cursory short-arm inspection showed they were untroubled."

Mr. Mascarenhas says that death sentences were meted out with "amazing casualness." He describes how the martial law administrator in the town of Comilla looked over a list of prisoners and "with a flick of his pencil," sentenced five to death. Later, after the condemned men were led away, Mr. Mascarenhas heard "the thumping sound of wooden clubs meeting bone and flesh."

The newsman, who traveled for six days with officers of the 9th Division headquarters at Comilla, says he saw truckloads of "human targets and those who had the humanity to try to help them hauled off for disposal under the cover of darkness and curfew."

The terrified Bengalis, according to Mr. Mascarenhas, generally ran away and vanished at the approach of West Pakistani soldiers. Comilla, with a population density in normal times of 1,900 to the square mile, was virtually deserted. Those who could not run adopted "cringing servitude" which only added humiliation to their plight," he writes.

Mr. Mascarenhas describes the army's action as "a charade... enacted for the benefit of the world." The authorities, he says, use terms like "cleaning process" and "rehabilitation effort" when they mean "massacre and transformation of East Bengal into a docile colony of West Pakistan."

"Strip away the propaganda," he writes, "and the reality is colonization—and killing."

U.S. Is Urging Stronger Ties Between NATO and Spain

MADRID, June 13 (UPI)—The United States has stepped up its efforts to establish formal links between Spain and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

When NATO's defense planning committee met two weeks ago in Brussels, U.S. Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird submitted a paper arguing that the protection of the alliance's southern flank was being seriously hampered by the lack of Spanish participation.

According to informed diplomats here, the paper was emphatic in stating that an arrangement to link Spain to the alliance must be worked out. No public mention of it has been made because of the sensitivity among some NATO members on the subject of Spain.

Spanish membership in NATO was first proposed by the Eisenhower administration, but for many years the United States refrained from pushing the proposal. Opposition to the Franco regime's stance in many of Europe's democratic parties, and at different times it would have been politically impossible for countries such as Great Britain, West Germany, Belgium and Denmark to accept Spain.

The current American initiative, which is described both by American and other sources as the most vigorous to date, does not call for full Spanish membership, but for less public, though formal "arrangements" between Spanish military commands and those of NATO.

Two Possibilities

One such proposed arrangement would be the stationing of Spanish military representatives at NATO commands in Brussels and Lisbon. Another would be the integration into NATO's aircraft control and warning system of Spain's own network.

At present Spain's aircraft-warning setup is linked with U.S. European commands through an arrangement provided for by the bases agreement between the two countries. There is thus an indirect linkage to the NATO system, but the American argument is that a direct hookup would be more effective.

American military authorities also want to secure Spanish participation in NATO's navy patrolling in the western Mediterranean.

The renewed American interest in a Spanish tie to dates from early in the Nixon administration. It rests, at least in part, on a wide-ranging review, by Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard, of U.S. military strategy.

The American argument cites the growth of Russian power in the Mediterranean, the loss of U.S. bases in the area, doubts about the future of non-alignment in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, and the withdrawal of France from NATO's military commands.

To U.S. military planners, any doubts about what public opinion may do in Spain after Gen. Francisco Franco's departure are outweighed by the regime's present ideological firmness and by Spain's important geographical position—protected by distance and the Pyrenees from the Soviet Army and dominating entry into the western Mediterranean.

Spanish official opinion on creating ties with NATO is ambiguous. In the past, Spain has been eager to join, but more recently Foreign Minister Gregorio Lopez Bravo has voiced doubts about the future of the alliance, and the usefulness to Spain of joining it.

On the other hand, there is no sign that the interest of Spain's armed forces—and probably of Gen. Franco—in NATO has ebbed significantly.

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Pentagon Rewrites, Weakens Study on Detecting A-Blasts

By Marilyn Berger

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI).—The Pentagon has rewritten the summary of a scientific paper that reported substantial improvements in the ability to differentiate between underground nuclear tests and earthquakes. The effect of the change is to weaken the report's conclusions.

The findings of the original report appeared virtually to eliminate the need for on-site inspection to check suspicious earth vibrations and therefore to improve significantly the prospects for negotiating a ban on underground nuclear testing, given a political decision to do so. The revised summary makes the



WEDDING SCENE—Tricia Nixon and her husband, Edward Finch Cox, walk down aisle between admiring guests following their marriage at the White House Saturday.

Despite Static, Cordobes Cuts 4 Ears on TV

NEW YORK, June 13 (UPI).—Demonstrators protesting cruelty to animals picketed Madison Square Garden today as the world's first televised bullfight from Spain was brought to closed-circuit audiences in more than 50 cities in the United States and also to Canada, Latin America, Asia and Europe.

The corrida featured Spain's Manuel Benítez (El Cordobes), the world's highest-paid matador, and two other toreros.

Thousands streamed into the Garden, a focal point of the telecast being relayed around the world by satellite by Management Television Systems, Inc., of New York. The Garden was only half filled, however.

Appearing with El Cordobes were two other top Spanish bullfighters, Santiago Martín (El Fito) and José Puente.

The telecast was transmitted live directly from the bullring in Jaen, a provincial capital in southern Spain.

About two dozen demonstrators from the Interfaith Conference Against Cruelty began picketing in front of the Garden 30 minutes before the telecast began and continued their march throughout the performance. They carried signs reading, "Do You Find Murder Entertaining?" and "The Matador Is a Butcher" and similar slogans.

In West Germany a suit to ban the telecast was successful. A similar suit in Argentina failed.

At the Jaen bullring the 35-year-old El Cordobes thrilled a capacity crowd of 15,000. The matador, who earns an estimated \$25 million a year by working closer to the bull's horns than any other live bullfighter, cut a triumphal tour and a parade.

Whether the TV spectacular was a financial success remained to be seen.

Filipino Boat Sinks; 44 Lost

MANILA, June 13 (UPI).—A leisure ship carrying more than 60 persons on a Philippine Independence Day excursion to Iloilo Island capsized and sank in heavy seas yesterday with the apparent loss of 44 lives.

Twenty-eight bodies were recovered and 16 persons were missing. About 80 persons were rescued.

The vessel was chartered by a Filipino travel organization for an excursion to the World War II ruins island at the mouth of Manila Bay, 38 miles west of the capital. A company spokesman said the vessel was capsized by "a big wave."

When the ship was sighted, it was listing heavily. A fire broke out at the stern, and the ship was engulfed in flames. The ship was carrying 60 passengers and 10 crew members. The ship was carrying 60 passengers and 10 crew members.

What Price a 1936 Bugatti Coupe? \$59,000—And Buyer Is Stunned

LOS ANGELES, June 13 (AP).—A Connecticut neurologist has paid \$59,000 for a 1936 Bugatti coupe, setting a new world price record for an automobile sold at auction.

The car, believed to be one of only two of its type in the world, was last sold for \$5,000 in 1947 to the late Robert B. Oliver of Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.

"I have never paid that amount of money for a Bugatti," said the new owner, Dr. Peter Williamson, after the bidding Saturday. "I'm in a state of shock."

The car is a type 57SC "Atlantique" electron coupe in the bright, named "Bugatti Blue" color. It was designed by Jean Bugatti for England's Lord Rothschild in 1936.

Dr. Williamson is president of the American Bugatti Club and owns 13 of the vintage cars. He outbid Rodney Clarke, of London, who said he handled the sale of the coupe to Mr. Oliver nearly 34 years ago. Mr. Clarke said he had wanted to take the car to England.

A spokesman for Sotheby, Parke-Bernet, which auctioned the car, said the previous world price record for a car at auction was \$45,000, paid in 1968 for a 1913 Mercedes raceabout.

A catalog description of the Bugatti said it is in "mint condition." In 1963 the owner had it shipped back to the Bugatti factory where it was "completely rebuilt mechanically," the catalog said.



WEDDING CAKE—Pastry chef, Maurice Bonte puts the final touches on Tricia Nixon's cake just before the marriage.



PROUD PARENTS—President Nixon flashes an "OK" sign and Mrs. Nixon is beaming after their daughter's marriage Saturday.

Tricia Nixon's Wedding at the White House

By Nan Robertson

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI).—Tricia Nixon was married yesterday in the Rose Garden of the White House to Edward Finch Cox, the man she has described as "my first and last love."

President Nixon's diminutive blonde daughter, who turned 26 in February, walked down the curving staircase of the columned South Portico on her father's arm for the first outdoor wedding in the 171-year history of the executive mansion.

Less than half an hour later, the single-ring ceremony was over. It was performed by the chaplain of the House of Representatives, the Rev. Edward G. Latch, in a dainty white garden pavilion just outside the President's West Wing office.

Four hundred guests witnessed it, but not one member of Congress, in which Mr. Nixon once served, was invited.

After the ceremony, Tricia Nixon Cox re-entered the White House for the reception with her husband. Later, they left for a secret honeymoon. The bridegroom, 24, tall and fine-boned, is a Harvard Law School student and the son of Easterners whose origins trace to leaders of the American Revolution.

Floating in Organdy

At this eighth White House wedding of a President's daughter, the bride wore an ensemble that gave her the appearance of floating in organdy. Her dress had a sleeveless, fitted bodice completely appliqued in Alençon lace and a flared trumpet skirt scattered with lace appliques and embroidery of roses and lilies of the valley, beaded with pearls. The back of the dress flowed to a circular court train.

Her shining tresses were drawn back smoothly under her beaded Juliette cap, with a double fingertip and floor-length veil cascading from the side and back, covering a cluster of pearls at the nape of her neck. She was gloved in organdy to just above the elbow.

She carried a miniature bouquet of lilies of the valley, white sweetheart roses, baby's breath and fern.

The two junior bridesmaids—presidential nieces Beth and Amy Nixon, 11 and 13 respectively—and bridesmaid Mary Ann (Maxie) Cox, 25, looking like a twin of her brother, the bride-

groom, all wore high-waisted dresses of lilac under-skirted with misty green. Julie Nixon Eisenhower, her sister's matron of honor, wore a similar dress of pale green organdy with an underlayer of lilac.

All the men in the wedding party, including Mr. Nixon, wore gray, swallow-tailed cutaways with striped trousers, ascots, stiff wing collars and gloves.

The music at the marriage was provided entirely by the U.S. Army string ensemble.

The ten-minute religious ceremony involved no "I do's" or "I will's" by the bride and groom, but rather a series of questions. Instead, Mr. Latch, a Methodist clergyman who has known Mrs. Nixon since her childhood, took her right hand from that of her father and placed it in Mr. Cox's right hand. The two then exchanged identical vows.

The groom was first. "I, Edward, take thee, Patricia, to be my wedded wife, to have and to hold, in honor and to com-

fort, in sickness and in joy, to love and to cherish from this day forth," he said.

Then Miss Nixon, the fourth presidential daughter to be married in less than five years, repeated the vow.

The three other recent brides were all present yesterday. In addition to Julie Eisenhower, 22, who wed Dwight David Eisenhower 3d in New York two and a half years ago, the gathering included Loni Baines Johnson Nugent and her sister, Lynda Bird Johnson Robb. Mrs. Nugent was married in August, 1969, in the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, with a White House reception, and Mrs. Robb was married in the East Room of the executive mansion in December, 1967. Former President Johnson's sons-in-law, Patrick Nugent and Charles Robb, also attended yesterday's wedding.

The ceremony began at 4 p.m. First the bridegroom, the minister and the best man, Edward's brother Howard, 27, entered the Rose Garden together. Then, to different pieces of music, came the attendants and finally appeared the President and the bride.

The religious ceremony, a blend of Methodist, Episcopal and Catholic rites as selected by the bride and bridegroom, started when Mr. Latch told the guests of the importance of the institution of marriage, "founded in nature, ordained by the state, sanctioned by the church and made honorable by the faithful keeping of good men and women in all ages."

His homily to Miss Nixon and Mr. Cox urged them to "love each other, but do not make a bond of your love." He told them: "Stand together, but not too near together, just as the pillars of a temple stand apart, yet stand together."

"Ideally," he said, "married life ought to be a life of self-sacrificing love, of great and unreserved giving of self." He asked: "Is it in this spirit and for this purpose that you have come hither to be joined together?"

"It is," they replied, and then they exchanged their vows.

He gave them a benediction and then the Edward Finch Coxes rose and, followed by the wedding party, swept up the staircase to their reception.

Members of the anti-war May Day Tribe had threatened disturbances, but none materialized. Not even pedestrian traffic was permitted in the surrounding area.

All of Congress Was Left Out

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI).—J. Edgar Hoover was "in" but Congress—where President Nixon once sat in both houses—was "out" as Tricia Nixon became the bride yesterday of Edward Finch Cox.

The exclusion of the entire third branch of government—the legislative—set tongues wagging in this city, where one's social position generally rests on one's political stature.

White House aides stoutly insisted that no political-social snub was intended.

"This is not a political affair," one aide said. "It's a family wedding."

The family friends among the 400 guests ranged all the way from dozens of Nixon and Cox relatives to such well-known personalities as Mrs. Dwight David Eisenhower, the Rev. Billy Graham, the Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Red Skelton, Ethel Waters, Art Linkletter and Freeman Gosden (Amos of the old "Amos and Andy Show.")

Study Says 25% of All DDT Made Is in Seas

By Victor Cohn

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI).—Nearly 25 percent of all DDT manufactured to date is now in the world's oceans, where it is killing baby fish, according to a report issued yesterday by a panel of the National Academy of Science.

In another study, Dartmouth College's Dr. Henry Schroeder reported that alarming amounts of cadmium were found in three types of fish in the Hudson River in upstate New York.

The latter report was disclosed yesterday by Sen. Philip A. Hart, D-Mich., who is seeking a tough new fish-inspection law.

The panel of the academy's Ocean Affairs Board, headed by Dr. Edward D. Goldberg of the University of California's Scripps Institution of Oceanography, called for "a new national effort" to reduce and ultimately halt the escape of persistent pesticides and similar chemicals into the environment.

Statistics Withheld

The effort, it said, should include repeal of laws that deny scientists production figures of pesticide makers. The report, "Chlorinated Hydrocarbons in the Ocean Environment," said that:

● The oceans are the ultimate accumulation site—through rivers, sewage outfalls and rainfall—for all persistent pesticides such as DDT, Aldrin, Chlordane, Dieldrin, Endrin, Heptachlor and Toxaphene, and similar chemicals like polychlorinated biphenyls, or PCBs (industrial and plasticizer chemicals).

● Increasing amounts have been accumulating with "demonstrable impact." "Marine fish are almost universally contaminated."

● The ripe eggs of speckled sea trout on the south Texas coast now contain some eight parts per million of DDT residue, and the area's speckled sea trout have dropped from 30 per acre in 1964 to 2 per acre in 1969. Five parts of DDT residue causes 100 percent mortality in young fresh-water trout, so "the evidence is presumptive for similar reproductive failure in sea trout."

● With continued accumulations of chemicals, more sea life will be threatened. Pesticides cause egg-shell thinning, and populations of fish-eating birds like brown pelicans have suffered "reproductive failure and decline."

Two of the cadmium-contaminated fish were caught in the Hudson near Cold Spring, N.Y.

David Seymour of the National Audubon Society and Robert Boyle of Sports Illustrated maga-

zine first dredged bottom samples from the area near the Sonoma Railway Co. The samples were high in cadmium and nickel.

Then Messrs. Seymour and Boyle caught a bass containing 11.22 parts per million of cadmium and a silver dace (a small fish not eaten by fishermen) with 7.58 parts. A carp, with 87 parts in the edible portions, was caught at Montrose, in the same area. Many persons eat carp, though it is not nearly as popular as bass.

The Food and Drug Administration has set no cadmium safety levels. But Dr. Schroeder, a leading expert on cadmium poisoning, wrote the U.S. attorney in New York City that the bass and dace "should be considered unfit to eat" and the carp "somewhat over an acceptable level."

The Bee report quoted an Oppenheimer booklet that outlined the tax advantage to investing in cattle:

"Federal tax laws favor cattle if you pick the right kind and stick to the rules. Herds of beef cows top the list. When you buy them you become a farmer and can keep your books on a cash basis."

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A Killer of Baby Fish

By Victor Cohn

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To Avert Financial Collapse

Clyde Shipbuilding Complex Presses Heath for State Aid

LONDON, June 13 (AP).—Prime Minister Edward Heath and his aides tonight sought ways of saving another of Britain's top firms from bankruptcy without torpedoing the government's policy of forcing industry to stand on its own feet.

A distress call from Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, a world-famed Scottish consortium in which the state has a 49-percent stake, appeared to be a repetition of the crisis last March when Rolls-Royce went broke.

UCS chairman Anthony Hepper appealed to the government—"our major shareholder"—during a 90-minute meeting with Trade and Industry Minister John Davies. Mr. Hepper asked for immediate aid of 15 million to avert liquidation and save the jobs of 7,500 employees.

Queen Elizabeth

Mr. Davies then drove to Chequers, the prime minister's country residence, to discuss the problem with Mr. Heath.

The consortium, which built the liner Queen Elizabeth 2, is made up of such renowned names in shipbuilding as John Brown,

builders of the pre-war Cunard liners, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

It has long been in financial difficulties and only last March Mr. Davies called a halt to further assistance. "I have no intention whatever of advancing further sums to UCS," he said.

Political pressure from Parliament may force him to eat his words.

The consortium was formed because of the financial distress of individual yards along the upper reaches of the Clyde River at Glasgow. It already has received more than £20 million in aid from both Labor and Conservative governments.

The company said that its present crisis arises from a complete lack of working capital because of the financial distress of individual yards along the upper reaches of the Clyde River at Glasgow. It already has received more than £20 million in aid from both Labor and Conservative governments.

Special Problem

Like the Rolls-Royce collapse, the difficulties at UCS pose a special problem to Mr. Heath and fellow ministers committed to ending the Labor government's policy of bailing out financially stricken corporations and providing state subsidies to other concerns.

The Tory policy has been to keep hands off industry to force it to stand on its own feet.

An exception had to be made with Rolls-Royce and another may come for the shipbuilders. In addition to its 7,500 workers, 25,000 more men in auxiliary industries depend on the shipyard for their livelihood.

Mr. Heath called a full meeting of cabinet ministers tomorrow morning to find a solution that Mr. Davies is to announce later to the House of Commons.

97 Are Arrested In Latin Quarter

PARIS, June 13 (Reuters).—Police arrested 97 people in the Latin Quarter last night but released them all this morning after checking their identity, police said today.

Police reported several minor incidents in the area where shops were looted and windows broken a week ago in a two-hour spree of vandalism, during which the police did not intervene.

Last night a large force of police was stationed in the Left Bank student area, the scene of violence on practically every Saturday night for the past few weeks.



ROYAL BIRTHDAY—Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip accompanied by other members of the Royal Family on the balcony of Buckingham Palace, watch a fly-past by 16 RAF jets, as part of the ceremony celebrating the Queen's official birthday on Saturday. The

Queen's actual birthday was April 21, when she was 45, but it is traditionally celebrated in June because of the generally more favorable weather. The Queen Mother and Princess Anne are in the background and Prince Edward, is next to the Queen.

Seeking a Position of Strength

French Democratic Left Splits on Front With Communists

By John L. Hess

PARIS, June 13 (NYT).—The battered and divided democratic left in France pulled itself together a bit today but failed to resolve its overriding problem: the willingness to make a united front with the Communists.

At a three-day congress in suburban Epinay, the Socialist party merged with François Mitterrand's Convention of Republican Institutions and with a number of smaller groupings, mainly left-wing Catholics. These added perhaps 10,000 members to the party's estimated total of 75,000. It had 350,000 at the end of World War II.

The congress was dominated by

the Communist question, to the point that in the decisive vote today, seats on the national committee were allocated in proportion to the balloting for seven policy resolutions.

On a preliminary tally, the right-wing bloc led by Gaston Defferre, mayor of Marseille, a bloc which favors a united front with so-called centrist parties, won about 30 percent of the votes and 13 seats. One-third of the vote and 15 seats went to the resolution of Alain Savary, the party secretary, and Guy Mollet, advocating a wary continuation of negotiations with the Communists.

Mr. Mitterrand's faction, which also insisted on the necessity of

a united front with the Communists but was slightly more wary, obtained seven seats. Three groups eager to push the popular front more vigorously, to the point of accepting the Communist proposal for a "contract of government," setting the policy of a leftist regime in advance, obtained a total of 12 seats.

Mr. Mitterrand, an advocate of unity of the left since 1965, when he obtained 45 percent of the vote against President Charles de Gaulle, told the congress that the only way for the Socialists to deal with the Communists is from a position of strength.

The Communists have held on to roughly one-fourth of the French electorate since the war.

Meanwhile, the Socialists have declined from nearly one-fourth to less than one-tenth.

Under the Fourth Republic, ending in 1958, the Socialists participated in most French governments in coalition with centrist and conservative parties. The Defferre faction seeks to renew this approach, but, as the Catholic daily *La Croix* observes, the center today has largely entered the government majority, leaving little ground for a center-left opposition.

Only Hope

The Savary-Mollet and Mitterrand groups thus conclude that the only hope for election victories lies in unity on the left. But they don't want to lose their more moderate following, and they fear being dominated by the powerful Communist party.

A majority of the new party leadership, now appears to favor a continuation of recent electoral deals with the Communists, concentrating their votes in runoffs on the candidate leading in the first round.

But it is avoiding a marriage contract. The Communists have pursued their wooing to the point of acknowledging a peaceful, democratic path to socialism by the ballot box. So far they have refused, however, to admit that a Socialist government, once elected, could be defeated at the polls and should then step down gracefully. The Socialists consider the point fundamental.

Soviet Official Says Nation Has Vast Oil Sources

MOSCOW, June 13 (UPI).—The Soviet Union has vast untapped petroleum sources and is building pipelines to supply Asia and Europe.

Minister Valentin D. Shashin told the opening session of the eighth World Petroleum Congress in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses.

"There are vast areas of the Soviet Union not yet thoroughly explored or still lying untapped and whose combined oil and gas-bearing areas cover some 74 million square miles—nearly half the total area of the Soviet Union."

Mr. Shashin added: "Exploratory wells are still thinly scattered. There is one well per 62 square miles."

He said that work is under way to construct "two major oil pipelines, the largest in the country, to transport western Siberian oil to the west and the east."

"The western line will be 2,350 miles long... The eastern line will be 3,730 miles long. It will start at Alexandrovskoye... and go to the port of Nakhodka, near Vladivostok," he said.

Le Havre Firm Burns

LE HAVRE, France, June 13 (Reuters).—A fire which swept through a chemical factory here early today caused damage estimated at five million francs. The factory produced France's entire supply of titanium oxide. No one supply of titanium oxide. No one was hurt in the blaze.



Palace Hotel St. Moritz

Obituaries

Lt. Gov. Reynolds of Virginia Heir to Metals Firm Fortune

NEW YORK, June 13 (UPI).—Lt. Gov. J. Sargent Reynolds of Virginia, heir to the Reynolds Metal Co. fortune, whose meteoric political career was interrupted by a brain tumor nearly a year ago, died here today at 54.

A Reynolds Metal Co. spokesman in Richmond, Va., said Mr. Reynolds, who re-entered a hospital here May 4 for more radiation treatments to arrest further progress of the inoperable tumor, died of pneumonia.

Mr. Reynolds assumed the role of debenture for the public service career he pursued until his death. He learned of his fatal illness last August when he entered a neurological institute for treatment of a persistent numbness and pain in his left arm and shoulder.

Prior to the diagnosis, he had been considered the Democratic party's choice as its next gubernatorial candidate. It was widely considered, even by some Republicans, that he would win election as chief executive easily in 1970. He would have been 55 on June 30.

Frederick W. Haddad

BATTLE CREEK, Mich., June 13 (AP).—Frederick W. Haddad, 41, a former assistant to President John Kennedy, died of an apparent heart attack in a Battle Creek hospital on Friday.

In the early days of the Kennedy administration, Mr. Haddad headed the so-called "Kennedy talent search" to find cabinet and sub-cabinet officers for the new President.

Mr. Haddad and his brother, William, also helped organize the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Peace Corps.

Bert Ambrose

LEEDS, England, June 13 (AP).—Bert Ambrose, 74, one of Britain's big band leaders during the 1930s, died yesterday of a heart attack.

Mr. Ambrose, who turned to managing recording stars after World War II, collapsed in a television studio where his client singer Kathy Kirby was recording.

D. G. Tendulkar

BOMBAY, June 13 (AP).—D. G. Tendulkar, 63, author of an eight-volume biography of Mohandas Gandhi, died here yesterday.

Ralph E. Cleland

BLOOMINGTON, Ind., June 13 (AP).—Dr. Ralph E. Cleland, 79, internationally known botanist specializing in genetics, died here Friday in his Indiana University office.

He was distinguished professor emeritus at the school and a member of the American Philosophical Society and the National Academy of Sciences.

William G. Grace

BATE, Maine, June 13 (AP).—William George Grace, 85, the marine biologist who used a torch to cut a path through the forest of the submerged submarine S-56, died here Thursday.

A native of London, Mr. Grace

Malta Laborites Fight Nationalists During Election

VALETTA, June 13 (UPI).—Opposition Labor party supporters battled their Nationalist rivals and then turned on police today at the midway point of Malta's second general elections in seven years of independence.

The fighting erupted amid one of the island's heaviest turnouts of voters—nearly 80 percent of the eligible 168,000. Monday is the final day of the three days of balloting.

Giorgio Borg Olivier sought another five-year term as prime minister at the head of the strongly pro-Western Nationalist party, which maintains military ties with Britain and indirectly with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. His Labor party opponent, Don Mintoff, favors a more independent course for the 122-square-mile nation.

Nationalists said the fighting at Santa Lucia, five miles from Valletta, broke out today because Laborites were threatening voters on the way to the polls. Police moved in quickly to restore order, only to be attacked in turn, they said, by the Laborites.

Police said an undisclosed number of arrests was made.

Sunny skies and soaring temperatures across the Mediterranean island brought out voters by the thousands.

French Strike Continues

PARIS, June 13 (Reuters).—An unofficial strike by French railwaymen to back wage demands went into its third day today with service cut by two-thirds on long distance trains. Paris suburban service was 20 to 60 percent of normal. New talks between the unions and management of the state-operated railroads are scheduled Wednesday.

CHUNN

CHUNN, 1935
Fragrant Almond (Frag.)
PERFUMES
Universal Gift. Glens, Bags.
Genuine Almond essence (discontinued)
45 RUE RICHELIEU, PARIS
Tel. 01-26-26-26-26

was the son of an English and a German man. The plate he cut from the which sank in Long Island Sound shortly after World War I, is in the Naval Museum in Washington.

Alfred (Red) Barr

EL PASO, Texas, June 13 (U).—Alfred (Red) Barr, 62, South Methodist University's swim coach, died of a heart attack here yesterday.

Mr. Barr had coached since 1947, and his teams won 17 Southwest Conference championships, including the 15. He had also coached U.S. Pan American games. A native of Avon, Ohio, Barr was graduated from Ohio College in 1930 and received a master's degree from New University in 1937.

Pietro Quaroni

ROME, June 13 (AP).—Ved Italian diplomat Pietro Quaroni, who had represented country in Moscow, Paris, London, died here Friday. Mr. Quaroni had undergone surgery a few days ago. His major posts in diplomatic service, Mr. Quaroni became Italy's ambassador to Soviet Union when the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1944. In 1946 he was transferred to Paris, replacing Giuseppe Saragat, now president of the

Brandt Arrives In U.S. Today Talks With Nixon

WASHINGTON, June 13 (UPI).—West German Chancellor Willy Brandt arrives here today for talks with President Nixon and government officials on East-West problems and U.S. relations with the German Democratic Republic.

Mr. Brandt, on his second visit to the United States, will meet with President Nixon on Tuesday for a talk and again that evening at a dinner in his honor at the White House. He will also meet with Secretary of State William P. Rogers at a working lunch Wednesday.

The chancellor is to spend the week in the United States receiving an honorary degree from Yale University tomorrow, giving Tuesday and Wednesday in Washington, and going to New York for meetings with President Nixon on Thursday.

Mr. Brandt arrived yesterday in Kingston, Jamaica, on a day visit there. He said speech that his government sympathized with the people of Jamaica and the Caribbean nations in the face of the implications of the United States' entry into the European Economic Community.

Central Banks Discuss Control For Eurodollar

BASEL, June 13 (UPI).—A gathering of about 30 of the world's central banks, to attend tomorrow's annual meeting of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), gave priority in their informal end talks to controlling flows into Europe.

The matter has become as it is freely acknowledged massive dollar flows were primary cause of the recent currency crisis which resulted last month's parity change. The Swiss franc, Austrian Schilling, West German mark, Dutch guilder.

The members' views on controlling the Eurodollar are expected to be published tomorrow in a report.

The current talks are broader than the monthly BIS board meeting which are usually attended by central bankers from Europe, the United States, and Japan. This meeting being attended by 25 representatives of BIS member central banks from several member countries, including South Africa.

Indians Expelled From Alcatraz After 19 Months

SAN FRANCISCO, June 13 (UPI).—A government fleet of 35 marshallers recaptured Alcatraz without resistance, removing 15 Indian holdouts mauling from an occupation began 19 months ago.

The marshallers landed on 12-acre island from three Guard boats, took possession of the six men, women and five children San Francisco hotel. They resisted.

The angry Indians charged they had been betrayed by government on orders from Alcatraz. Some vowed to claim the island.

United States Attorney J. L. Browning Jr. said the 21 of the inmates prison island San Francisco Bay had prompted by the Indians to cooperate in investigation copper wire theft from the island and interference with a United States to repair a normal radio.

EACH FRIDAY A VACATION CRUISES TO NEW YORK.

In one of the world's most civilized international agreements, the British and the French have decreed that their two great pleasure cruisers, QE2 and Le France, sail from Le Havre and Southampton for New York most alternate Fridays.

It's a little longer than the wait between plane flights, but the rewards are incomparable.

A five day vacation girds your loins before you face the New World again.

Food in the great style of legendary French or traditional British. Roaring entertainment or blissful solitude, whichever you prefer, is taken for granted on either ship. Comfort, style, people, discreet stewards, nannies for children, bars, libraries... in five days you will learn to be incredibly spoilt by two nations who have had more practice at civilisation than most.

QE2 and Le France—the two best ways home. One leaves every week. Le France sails from Bremerhaven July 21, August 19 and October 14. QE2 calls at Cobh July 17, August 14, September 11 and October 23. See your travel agent now.



The best bit of teamwork since the Entente Cordiale

مكذبات

Also Cast Votes From Space

Cosmonauts Grow a Garden: The Crop Is Chinese Cabbage

MOSCOW, June 13 (UPI).—Three Soviet cosmonauts aboard the Salyut orbital laboratory today cast the first "votes" from space and tended a vegetable patch in the sky. They are growing Chinese cabbage.

"We give our votes to the

candidates of the inviolable bloc of Communists and non-party members," cosmonaut Lt. Col. Georgy Dobrovolski, Vladislav Volkov and Viktor Patsayev radioed to earth on election day for the Supreme Soviets (parliaments) of the Soviet Union's republics.

"We vote for the wise foreign and domestic policy of our Communist party, for the implementation of the grandiose plans of the new five-year economic plan."

Tass disclosed the vegetable patch in the sky.

"Higher Vegetation"

"Experiments are continuing aboard Salyut to study the influence of the conditions of weightlessness on the development of higher vegetation," Tass said.

"Grown for this purpose are Chinese cabbage (*Brassica chinensis*), flax and bulb onion cultivated by the hydroponics method. A new nutrient solution is regularly fed to the plants and observations are being continuously carried out."

Salyut at 1100 GMT today completed its 100th orbit since the cosmonauts boarded it last Monday after docking in their Soyuz-11 transport spacecraft.

Tass said the cosmonauts had begun working in shifts because of a heavy experiment schedule but were "preserving high working capacity."

Tass said Salyut is equipped with a "moving track" so the cosmonauts can "preserve the habits of walking and the strength of their muscles in weightlessness." It said there are other "special devices and fixtures" for exercise on board but did not describe them.

Col. Dobrovolski told television via "cosmovision" that he and Mr. Volkov decided to grow beards although electric shavers are on board. "Patsayev firmly resists the temptation and shaves daily," Col. Dobrovolski said.

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DUTIFUL CITIZENS—Former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and wife Nina Petrovna walking in Moscow yesterday after voting in Russian national elections.

First Public Appearance in Two Years

Khrushchev, 77, Goes to Moscow to Vote

MOSCOW, June 13 (UPI).—Former Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, his wife Nina on his arm, appeared in Moscow today to vote in parliamentary elections.

"I feel fine," the 77-year-old Mr. Khrushchev said.

Asked what he was doing these days—he was ousted from power by the current Kremlin troika in 1964—Mr. Khrushchev replied:

"I'm a pensioner. What do pensioners do?"

It was Mr. Khrushchev's first public appearance in Moscow in two years. That time it was also to vote at a public school in central Moscow.

Mr. Khrushchev has been an official "unperson" since his ouster on Oct. 15, 1964. His name appeared in the Soviet press last November for the first time since that date, when newspapers published his disavowal of the "Khrushchev Remembers" book.

Mr. Khrushchev branded the alleged memoirs a "fabrication" and denied he handed any manuscripts to foreign or domestic publishers. The book became a best-seller in the West.

Family friends said in November that Mr. Khrushchev was taken to the Kremlin hospital from his suburban villa for treatment of a cardiac deficiency. He has long suffered from heart trouble.

Spain to Restore Rights Suspended During Basque Trial in December

MADRID, June 13 (UPI).—The government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco announced Friday that it will reinstate habeas corpus rights which were suspended during the trial of Basque extremists at Burgos last December.

Article 18 of the constitution, which was suspended for six months on Dec. 14, will be rein-

stated tomorrow, Information Minister Alfredo Sanchez Bella told newsmen at the end of a regular cabinet meeting.

Article 18 stipulates that arrested persons must be freed within 72 hours of their detention unless they have been formally charged. The suspension has given police the right to detain political suspects indefinitely without a formal charge.

Egypt Parliament Backs Soviet Pact

CAIRO, June 13 (UPI).—The "friendship and cooperation" treaty between Egypt and the Soviet Union won unanimous approval tonight from the People's Assembly (parliament), the Middle East News Agency said.

The assembly held a special session tonight to debate the 16-year pact, the agency added. The treaty was signed in May.

Police, Army Battle 1,200 Near Belfast

Orange Order March Halted After Clash

DUNGIVEN, Northern Ireland, June 13 (UPI).—Police and British troops today used barbed-wire barricades and a river to stave off charges by hundreds of Protestant Orangemen trying to defy a government ban against marches.

About 1,200 Protestants in their lodge's regalia—orange sashes and bowler hats—smashed through police lines shouting "no surrender" and "let us through."

Police said eight marchers were injured.

But British troops with billy clubs beat some of them back and the "concertina" rolls of barbed wire stretched across a bridge and the River Roe itself held the marchers away from the main part of this 85-percent Roman Catholic market village of 1,500 inhabitants.

Annual Procession

The Protestants had poured into the town from nearby villages that have traditionally been at odds with the Dungiven Catholics. The Orange Order march is an annual event, but it was prohibited this year under a general government order banning marches. The town is 70 miles west of Belfast.

Meanwhile British troops opened fire on bomb throwers in Belfast early today.

"It is not known if any of the bomb throwers were hit," an army spokesman said.

Two nail bombs were thrown at a platoon of the Royal Green Jackets patrolling the market area of downtown Belfast. Only one exploded and none of the troops was hurt, the spokesman said.

16 Kinshasa Students Get 10 Yrs. as AWOL

KINSHASA, June 13 (Reuters).—Sixteen former students at Kinshasa's Lovanium University were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in their absence here today for failing to enroll in the army.

The court-martial followed last week's decision to close the university and enlist the students for two years following a clash on the campus in which a student was wounded. The government gave the students three days to enroll or be treated as deserters. Of the 3,007 students at Lovanium 2,888 enrolled.

Face Fines, Jail Terms

Uninsured Motorists in Italy Ignore New Law, Dodge Police

By Marvine Howe

ROME June 13 (NYT).—Hundreds of thousands of Italian motorists dodged policemen yesterday after compulsory motor vehicle insurance went into effect at midnight.

About 15 million cars, trucks, motorcycles and mopeds are subject to the new requirement, which excludes only three-wheel motorcycles and farm machinery. State vehicles are also included but have until Dec. 31 to be insured.

A fifth of the country's automobile drivers have not yet obtained insurance and are liable to fines and jail sentences, according to official estimates. About 75 percent of all motorcycles are not insured.

Heavy Demand

Motorists without at least third-party insurance risk three months in jail and a fine of 300,000 lire, or \$480. Failure to display an insurance certificate on the windshield can bring a fine of \$1.50 to \$16.

Insurance companies have been working day and night and even on the Corpus Christi holiday last week to handle the new applications.

Meanwhile, drivers without the necessary certificate resorted to various subterfuges today. A black market has blossomed for false insurance cards. Many car owners parked their cars in garages, forgoing weekends at the beach, until they got their cards. Others merely parked in conspicuous places, hoping that their vehicles would be overlooked.

Some drivers covered their windshields with election propaganda, hoping that the lack of a certificate would go unnoticed.

A survey yesterday afternoon indicated that the Italian police were being lenient toward violators. Some policemen suggested that they would allow a seven-day grace period. At the Rome general police command, two officers did not even know that the law had gone into effect.

Tourists were relieved. In accidents in the past they have generally had to deal with uninsured Italian drivers, many of whom were unable to pay for damages. Tourists are almost universally covered.

The law, which was approved by the legislature in December, 1968, was drafted because of the increasing number of accidents, according to official sources.

Fund Established

The situation got so bad that the government's National Insurance Institute recently set up a

fund to take care of cases in which the driver at fault in an accident was not identified or not covered by insurance.

Alvino Riccardi, a spokesman for the National Insurance Institute, was dubious about the effect of the new compulsory insurance law. "In my personal opinion, it may be that people will drive with more recklessness and during more ever since they will feel more at ease because eventual damages are covered," he said.

The director-general of insurance at the Ministry of Industry, Gaetano Angela, said that the new law put Italy on the same level as that of the other members of the European Economic Community. "I believe that we can now achieve almost automatically an integrated insurance system within the Common Market," he said.

Italy Begins 2-Day Round Of Balloting

ROME, June 13 (UPI).—Twenty percent of the Italian electorate are voting today and tomorrow in regional, provincial and city elections that have been described as a test of strength for the coalition government of Premier Emilio Colombo.

More than 7 million voters are selecting a regional government, two provincial governments and 158 city councils. Voting in Sicily ends tonight but all other polls will open again tomorrow until 2 p.m.

The elections have attracted nationwide interest and roused strong party feelings. Mr. Colombo himself stumped for the Christian Democrats in an effort to blunt any possible neo-Fascist or Communist gains.

Local elections rarely stir much national interest, but the current voting, coming only one year before national elections and involving 19.5 percent of the total Italian electorate, quickly took on the aspect of a test of strength for Mr. Colombo's coalition.

Italy's bitter political campaign claimed its first fatality yesterday. A policeman's bullet killed a 32-year-old activist caught illegally putting up campaign posters in a suburb of the Sicilian capital of Palermo. Police called the shooting an accident.

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The McNamara Report

(Continued from Page 1)

against North Vietnam beginning in 1954, with moves that encouraged and abetted the overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam in 1963; with plans, pledges and threats of further action that sprang to life in the Tonkin Gulf clashes in August, 1964; with the careful preparation of public opinion for the years of open warfare that were to follow, and with the calculation in 1965, as the planes and troops were openly committed to sustained combat, that neither accommodation inside South Vietnam nor early negotiations with North Vietnam would achieve the desired result.

Primary Interest

The study also suggests that the predominant American interest was at first containment of Communism and later the defense of the power, influence and prestige of the United States in both stages, irrespective of conditions in Vietnam.

The Times, which has obtained all but one of nearly 40 volumes of the study, has collated the materials into major segments of varying chronological length, from one that broadly covers the two decades before 1960 to one that deals intensively with the agonizing debate in the weeks following the 1968 Tet offensive.

The months from the beginning of 1964 to the Tonkin Gulf incident in August were a pivotal period, the study makes clear, and the series begins with this phase.

The Pentagon papers disclose that in this phase the United States had been mounting clandestine military attacks against North Vietnam and planning to obtain a congressional resolution that the administration regarded as the equivalent of a declaration of war. The papers make it clear that these far-reaching measures were not improvised in the heat of the Tonkin incident.

When the Tonkin incident occurred, the Johnson administration did not reveal these clandestine attacks and pushed the previously prepared resolution through both houses of Congress on Aug. 7, 1964.

Within 72 hours, the administration, drawing on a prepared plan, secretly sent a Canadian embassy to Hanoi. He warned Premier Phan Van Dong that the resolution meant that North Vietnam must halt the Communist-led insurgency in South Vietnam and Laos or "suffer the consequences."

The section of the Pentagon study dealing with the internal debate, planning and action in the Johnson administration from the beginning of 1964 also reveals that the covert military operations had become so extensive by August, 1964, that the pilot flying American T-28 fighter planes apparently bombed and strafed North Vietnamese villages near the Laotian border on Aug. 1 and 2.

Moreover, it reports that the administration was able to order retaliatory air strikes on less than six hours' notice during the Tonkin incident because planning had progressed so far that a list of targets was available for immediate choice. The target list had been drawn up in May, the study reports, along with a draft of the congressional resolution—all as part of a proposed "scenario" that was to build toward openly acknowledged air attacks on North Vietnam.

Simultaneously, the papers reveal, Secretary McNamara and the joint chiefs of staff also arranged for the deployment of air strike forces to Southeast Asia for the opening phases of the bombing campaign.

Covert Operations

What the Pentagon papers call "an elaborate program of covert military operations against the state of North Vietnam" began on Feb. 1, 1964, under the code name Operation Plan 34A. President Johnson ordered the program, on the recommendation of Mr. McNamara, in the hope, held very faintly by the intelligence community, that "progressively escalating pressure" from the clandestine attacks might eventually force Hanoi to order the Viet Cong guerrillas and the Pathet Lao to halt their insurrections.

In a memorandum to the President on Dec. 21, 1963, after a two-day trip to Vietnam, Mr. McNamara remarked that the plans, drawn up by the Central Intelligence Agency station and the military command in Saigon, were "an excellent job."

Through 1964, the 34A operations ranged from flights over North Vietnam by U-2 spy planes and kidnappings of North Vietnamese citizens for intelligence information, to parachuting sabotage and psychological warfare teams into the North, commando raids from the sea to blow up rail and highway bridges and the bombardment of North Vietnamese coastal installations by PT boats.

These "destructive undertakings," as they were described in a report to the President on Jan. 2, 1965, from Maj. Gen. Victor H. Krulak of the Marine Corps, were designed "to result in substantial destruction, economic loss and harassment." The tempo and magnitude of the strikes were designed to rise in three phases through 1964 to "targets identified with North Vietnam's economic and industrial well-being."

The attacks were given "inter-

agency clearance" in Washington, the history says, by coordinating them with the State Department and CIA, including advance monthly schedules of the raids from Maj. Gen. Rollen H. Anthis of the Air Force.

The Pentagon account and the documents show that William P. Bundy, the assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs, and John T. McNaughton, head of the Pentagon's politico-military operations as the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, were the senior civilian officials who supervised the distribution of the schedule and the other aspects of the interagency coordination for Mr. McNamara and Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

The analyst notes that the 34A program differed in a significant respect from the relatively low-level and unsuccessful intelligence and sabotage operations that the CIA had been carrying out in North Vietnam.

The 34A attacks were a military effort under the control in Saigon of Gen. Paul D. Harkins, chief of the U.S. Military Assistance Command there. He ran them through a special branch of his command called the Studies and Observations Group. It drew up the advance monthly schedules for approval in Washington. Planning was done jointly with the South Vietnamese and it was they or "hired personnel," apparently Asian mercenaries, who performed the raids. But Gen. Harkins was in charge.

CIA Air Force

The second major segment of the administration's covert war against North Vietnam consisted of air operations in Laos. A force of propeller-driven T-28 fighter-bombers, varying from about 25 to 40 aircraft, had been organized. The planes bore the Laotian Air Force markings. But only some belonged to that air force. The rest were manned by pilots of Air America (a pseudo-private airline run by the CIA) and by Thai pilots under the control of Ambassador Leonard Unger.

Reconnaissance flights by regular U.S. Air Force and Navy jets, code-named Yankee Team, gathered photographic intelligence for bombing raids by the T-28s against North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao troops in Laos. The Johnson administration gradually stepped up these air operations in Laos through the spring and summer of 1964, in what became a kind of preview of the bombing of the North. The escalation occurred both because of ground advances by the North Vietnamese and the Pathet Lao and because of the administration's desire to bring more military pressure against North Vietnam.

The destroyer patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin, code-named De Soto Patrols, were the third element in the covert military pressure against North Vietnam. While the purpose of the patrols was mainly psychological, as a show of force, the destroyers collected the kind of intelligence on North Vietnamese warning radars and coastal defenses that would be useful to 34A raiding parties on the eve of a bombing campaign, to pilots. The first patrol was conducted by the destroyer Craig without incident in February and March, in the early days of the 34A operations.

The analyst states that, before the August, Tonkin incident, there was no attempt to involve the destroyers with the 34A attacks or to use the ships as bait for North Vietnamese retaliation.

Although the highest levels of the administration sent the destroyers into the gulf while the 34A raids were taking place, the Pentagon study, as part of its argument that a deliberate provocation was not intended, in effect says that the administration did not believe that the North Vietnamese would dare to attack the ships.

Of the three elements of the covert war, the analyst cites the 34A raids as the most important. The "unequivocal" American responsibility for them "carried with it an implicit symbolic and psychological intensification of the U.S. commitment," he writes. "A firebreak had been crossed."

The fact that the intelligence community and even the joint chiefs also gave the program little chance of compelling Hanoi to order the Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao to halt their insurrections, meant that "a demand for more was stimulated and an expectation of more was aroused."

On Jan. 22, 1964, a week before the 34A raids started, the joint chiefs warned Mr. McNamara in a memorandum signed by the chairman, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, that while "we are wholly in favor of executing the covert actions against North Vietnam... it would be idle to conclude that these efforts will have a decisive effect" on Hanoi's will to support the Viet Cong.

The joint chiefs said that the administration "must be ready to conduct increasingly bolder actions," including aerial bombing of key North Vietnam targets, using U.S. resources under Vietnamese cover, sending American ground troops to South Vietnam and employing "U.S. forces as necessary in direct actions against North Vietnam."

And after a White House strategy meeting on Feb. 20, President Johnson ordered that "contingency planning for pressures against North Vietnam should be speeded up."

The impelling force behind the

A Chronology of the Road to War in Vietnam

NEW YORK (NYT)—Here, in chronological sequence, are highlights of the Tonkin period:

February, 1964

Start of Operation Plan 34-A program of clandestine military operations against North Vietnam.

March, 1964

Plans for "new and significant pressures on North Vietnam" urged by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara on return from Vietnam, since new government of Gen. Nguyen Khanh considered unable to improve South Vietnam outlook.

President Johnson approves; cables Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. ambassador in Saigon, that "our planning for action against the North is on a contingency basis at the present."

April, 1964

Scenarios for escalation reviewed in Saigon by Mr. Lodge, William P. Bundy, Dean Rusk, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler. Plans cover details of stepping up U.S. military involvement to conform with administration conviction that Hanoi controls Viet Cong. Extent of Hanoi's involvement should be "proven to the satisfaction of our own public, of our allies and of the neutrals," according to Mr. Rusk.

List of 94 potential targets for bombing in North drawn up by Joint Chiefs.

May, 1964

Gen. Khanh asks U.S. attacks on the North, tells Mr. Lodge Saigon wants to declare war on North Vietnam. Mr. McNamara does not "rule out" possibility of bombing, but stresses "such actions must be supplementary to and not a substitute for success against Viet Cong in South."

Mr. Lodge cables Mr. Rusk that United States cannot "expect a much better performance" from Saigon government "unless something" in the way of U.S. action is forthcoming.

William Bundy sends President 20-day scenario for graduated military pressure against the North that would culminate in full-scale bombing attacks. Includes joint congressional resolution "authorizing whatever is necessary with respect to Vietnam."

June, 1964

Honolulu strategy meeting. Ambassador Lodge urges "a selective bombing campaign against military targets in the North" to bolster shaky morale in South. He questions need for congressional resolution; Messrs. Rusk and McNamara, and John McCona of the CIA, support it.

Preparatory military deployments under way in Southeast Asia. J. Blair Seaborn, Canadian diplomat, meets secretly in Hanoi with Phan Van Dong, North Vietnam's premier, warns of "the greatest devastation" that would result from escalation by North Vietnam. President resists pressure to ask for congressional resolution immediately and to step up the war effort.

Mr. Johnson queries CIA on "domino theory." Agency replies that only Cambodia is likely to "quickly succumb to Communism" if Laos and South Vietnam fall, but says U.S. prestige would be damaged.

July, 1964

Gen. Khanh announces "march north" propaganda campaign.

South Vietnamese naval commandos raid two North Vietnamese islands in Gulf of Tonkin. Part of "growing operational capabilities" of 34-A program, the Pentagon study says.

August, 1964

Destroyer Maddox, on Gulf of Tonkin intelligence patrol, attacked by North Vietnamese PT boats seeking South Vietnamese raiders. Johned by the "C. Turner Joy," attacked again by torpedo boats, history reports.

Less than 12 hours after news of second attack reaches Washington, bombers on way to North Vietnam on reprisal raids from carrier.

Tonkin Gulf Resolution, drafted by administration, introduced. Administration officials testify Mr. McNamara disclaims knowledge of South Vietnamese attacks on islands. Resolution passes.

What study calls "an important threshold in the war"—U.S. reprisal air strikes against North—crossed with "virtually no domestic criticism."

Ambassador Lodge and Gen. William C. Westmoreland, who was replacing Gen. Harkins as chief of the Military Assistance Command in Saigon, flew to Honolulu with Secretary Rusk for the strategy session at Adm. Felt's headquarters there on June 1 and 2, 1964. They were joined by William Bundy, Mr. McNamara, Gen. Taylor, Mr. McCona and Mr. Sullivan.

While he had previously counseled patience, Mr. Lodge's chief recommendation at Honolulu was that the growing nervousness over the shakiness of the Saigon regime. He argued for bombing the North soon.

Adm. Felt's record of the first day's session quotes Mr. Lodge as predicting that "a selective bombing campaign against military targets in the North" would "bolster morale and give the population in the South a feeling of unity."

Obtaining a congressional resolution "prior to wider U.S. action in Southeast Asia" was a major topic.

The upshot of the conference, however, was that major actions "should be delayed for some time yet," the historian says. A separate briefing paper that William Bundy prepared for Secretary Rusk to use in communicating the conference's findings to the President at a White House meeting late on the afternoon of June 3 counseled more time "to refine our plans and estimates."

Mr. Bundy emphasized the need for an "urgent" public relations campaign at home to "get at the basic doubts of the value of Southeast Asia and the importance of our stake there."

Mr. McNamara, Gen. Taylor and Mr. McCona joined Secretary Rusk in making the June 3 report to the President on the Honolulu conference. A documentary record of this White House meeting is not available, but the study deduces the President's reaction and decisions from the subsequent actions taken by his senior advisers.

Where decisive military actions were concerned, "the President apparently recognized the need for more and better information, but did not convey a sense of urgency regarding its acquisition," the analyst says.

But one element of the May 23 plan, the positioning of forces for later action, began to fall into place right after the White House meeting. The Pentagon study says that "noncommittal military actions... were given immediate approval."

On June 4, Mr. McNamara directed the Army to take "action to improve the effectiveness and readiness status of its material prestocked for possible use in Southeast Asia."

"In June, State and Defense Department sources made repeated leads to the press affirming U.S. intentions to support its allies and uphold its treaty commitments in Southeast Asia," the analyst explains, citing several articles that month in The New York Times.

The administration also focused publicity through June and into July on its military prepositioning moves. The augmentation of the Army war stocks at Komat in Thailand was given "extensive press coverage," the account says, citing a dispatch in The Times on June 21, 1964.

Quiet on Aim

What the historian calls "the broad purposes" of these positioning moves "to serve as steps in the open-end plans" was not explained to the public.

The administration did openly step up its air operations in Laos in mid-June, after the enemy provided it with a rationale of self-defense. On June 6 and 7, two Navy jets on low-altitude target reconnaissance flights were shot down by enemy ground fire. Washington immediately added armed escort jets to the reconnaissance flights and, on June 9, the escort jets struck Pathet Lao gun positions and attacked a Pathet Lao headquarters.

A similar escalation of the T-28 operations and the involvement of Thai pilots was unofficially acknowledged in Washington, although the responsibility for these operations was laid to the Laotian government. And subsequent strikes by the American secret jets against enemy positions were not made public.

At the end of June, the Royal Laotian Air Force was secretly strengthened with more T-28s, and American planes began conducting troop transport operations and night reconnaissance flights for a successful counter-offensive by the Laotian Army to protect the key position of Muang Souk.

President Johnson was projecting an image of firmness and moderation the study notes. In early June, he first requested and then rejected a draft from Mr. Rusk for a major policy speech on Southeast Asia that took an "aggressive approach" and, instead, relied "on news conferences and speeches by other officials to state the official view," the account continues.

In contrast to the Rusk approach (the President's), news conference on 22 June and Secretary Rusk's speech at Williams College, 14 June, emphasized U.S. determination to support its Southeast Asian allies but avoided any direct challenges to Hanoi and Peking or any hint of intent to increase our military commitment.

A formal question the President submitted to the CIA in June also indicated what was on his mind. "What is the rest of Southeast Asia likely to do if Laos and South Vietnam came under North Vietnamese control?" he asked. The age reply on June 9 challenged domino theory, widely believed one form or another within administration.

"With the possible exception Cambodia," the CIA memorandum said, "it is likely the nation in the area would succumb to Communism as a result of the fall of Laos and Vietnam." Furthermore, a "domino" in the area would be inexorable, and any spread of it would take time in which the total situation change in any number of unfavorable to the Communist cause."

The CIA analysis conceded the loss of South Vietnam to Laos would be profoundly affecting to the U.S. position in Far East and would raise prestige of China, "as a less world Communism" at the expense of a more moderate Union. But the analysis also said that so long as the United States retained its island bases as those on Okinawa, Guam, Philippines and Japan, it would have enough military power to deter China, Laos and Vietnam from overt military aggression against Southeast Asia in general.

Even in the "worst case" South Vietnam and Laos would fall through a "clear-cut" military victory, the United States would retain some 10 to 15 million people in the area to affect the final outcome of Southeast Asia, according to the analysis.

It said that "the extent which individual countries move away from the United States toward the Communist bloc would be significantly affected by the substance and manner of U.S. policy in the period following the loss of Laos and Vietnam."

Unused Analysis

As in the case of the CIA analysis stating the new roots of Viet Cong strategy in South Vietnam, the study says that the President and senior officials were not in to adjust policy along the lines of this analysis challenge domino theory.

Only the joint chiefs, Mr. Taylor and Gen. Taylor, have accepted the domino in its literal sense—that the countries of Southeast Asia from Cambodia to Mal would tumble automatically if the dominoes were tipped.

South Vietnam was not out and, that the U.S. aid in the rest of the Far from Indonesia through the applies to Japan and would also be irretrievably lost.

Yet the President and his closest civilian advisers, Mr. McNamara and George Bundy, seem to have guarded the struggle over Vietnam in more or less terms.

In 1964, the administration feared an outbreak of civil war of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and Mr. McNamara wrote in his May memorandum to the President "the South Vietnam conflict regarded as a test case."

The struggle in South Vietnam was bound up with wider of "containing China," potential shadow over the threat by Mr. Rusk to his World War II experience Asia and the victory of Mao's revolution in China.

But behind these foreign actions about domino theory was liberation and the containment of China, the study reveals a deeper perception among the President's advisers that the United States now the most powerful in the world and that the U.S. in South Vietnam would ensure the will and the aid the United States to have in its world affairs.

The history conveys a sense that the war was considered less important for its own sake than for what it meant to the South Vietnamese people than for what it meant to the United States in the world.

Mr. McNamara would capitalize this perception memorandum to Mr. McNamara seeking to "appportion blame in South Vietnam."

"To prevent a U.S. defeat to our nation as a guarantor."

"To keep SVN the only free territory in China's hands."

"To permit to enjoy a freer way of life."

"Also—to emerge from without unacceptable taint methods used."

"NOT—to help a fellow countryman to help a fellow countryman."

(Continued on next page)

Continued from preceding page.

to Secretary Rusk that fall: "I know well the anxieties and complications on our side of the line. But there may be a tendency to underestimate both the anxieties and complications on the other side and also to underestimate the limited but real margin of influence on the outcome that flows from the simple fact that we are the greatest power in the world—if we behave like it."

Accordingly, in mid-June, the administration carried out another element of the May 23 plan, the element that had first been formulated by Ambassador Lodge as his "carrot and stick." On June 18, at the administration's request, Mr. Seaborn, the new Canadian representative on the International Control Commission, paid the first of his two secret calls on Premier Dong in Hanoi.

Washington sought to convey to North Vietnam through Mr. Seaborn the more precise and threatening meaning of the preparatory military deployments to Southeast Asia that it was publishing on a vaguer level in public.

The analyst says that Mr. Seaborn stressed to Premier Dong that while U.S. ambitions in Southeast Asia were limited and its intentions "essentially peaceful," its patience was not limitless. The United States was fully aware of the degree to which Hanoi controlled the Viet Cong, Mr. Seaborn said, and "in the event of escalation the greatest devastation would be the result of the DRV itself."

The North Vietnamese premier, the study relates, "fully understood the seriousness and import of the warning conveyed by Mr. Seaborn." Whether Mr. Seaborn also proffered the "carrot" of food and other economic aid is not reported.

At the June 3 meeting at the White House, the President had also apparently approved continued work for the congressional resolution, the historian says, because planning for it continued apace.

Drive on North

Washington's efforts to achieve some political stability in Saigon and to hold the line militarily against the guerrillas were coming to naught, however, under the blows of the Viet Cong. In his fear and nervousness, Gen. Khanh broke a promise he had made to Mr. Lodge and Secretary Rusk in their May meeting to consult with Washington before publicly announcing any intention to declare war on the North and to start a bombing campaign.

On July 19, he started a "March North" campaign of militant slogans and oratory at a "unification rally" in Saigon. The same day, as the historian puts it, Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, then chief of the South Vietnamese Air Force, "spilled the beans to reporters" on joint planning that the U.S. and Saigon governments had secretly been conducting since June with President Johnson's approval for ground and air assaults in Laos.

In an emotional meeting on July 23 with Gen. Taylor, who had just replaced Mr. Lodge as ambassador, Gen. Khanh asserted that North Vietnamese draftees had been taken prisoner with Viet Cong guerrillas in fighting in the northern provinces. The United States, he said, should realize, he said, that the war had entered a new phase that called for new measures.

During another heated meeting on July 24, Gen. Khanh asked Ambassador Taylor whether to resign. The ambassador asked him not to do so and cabled Washington urging that the United States undertake covert joint planning with the South Vietnamese for bombing the North. The joint planning would serve as a device to hold the "March North" campaign in check and would perhaps create some political stability within the Saigon military through this assurance of American support, the ambassador said.

The State Department, the study says, immediately authorized Ambassador Taylor to tell Gen. Khanh that the U.S. had considered attacks on North Vietnam that might begin, for example, if the pressure from dissident South Vietnamese factions became too great. He must keep this confidential.

To restrain the South Vietnamese military, the ambassador was also authorized to undertake joint planning for an air campaign.

The Pentagon narrative skims over the last few days in July, 1964, but a summary of command and control study of the Tonkin Gulf incident by the Defense Department's Weapons System Evaluation Group in 1966, which The Times obtained along with the Pentagon narrative, fills in the events of these few days.

The study discloses that after a National Security Council meeting called on July 25, apparently to discuss these critical developments, the joint chiefs proposed air strikes by unmarked planes flown by non-American crews against several targets in North Vietnam, including the coastal bases for Hanoi's flotilla of torpedo boats.

Assistant Secretary McNaughton sent the joint chiefs' memorandum to Mr. Rusk on July 30. The Pentagon narrative now remarks that the clandestine 34A raids against North Vietnam, after getting off to what the joint chiefs had called "a slow beginning" in a report to Mr. Mc-

Namara on May 19—picked up in tempo and size during the summer, although the analyst provides few details. The joint chiefs had informed Mr. McNamara that trained sabotage teams, electronic intelligence-gathering equipment, C-123 transports for the airdrops and fast PT boats for the coastal raids were giving the program "growing operational capabilities."

At midnight on July 30, South Vietnamese naval commands under Gen. Westmoreland's command staged an amphibious raid on the North Vietnamese islands of Hon Me and Hon Nieu in the Gulf of Tonkin.

While the assault was occurring, the U.S. destroyer Maddox was 120 to 130 miles away, heading north into the gulf on the year's second De Soto intelligence-gathering patrol. The sailing orders said that the ship was not to approach closer than eight nautical miles to the North Vietnamese coast and four nautical miles to North Vietnamese islands in the gulf.

Course Altered

The historian does not say whether the captain of the Maddox had been informed about the 34A raid. He does state that the Maddox altered course twice on Aug. 3 to avoid a concentration of three North Vietnamese torpedo boats and a fleet of junks that were still searching the seas around the islands for the raiders.

The destroyer reached the northernmost point of its assigned patrol track the same day and headed south again.

"When the [North Vietnamese] PT boats began their high-speed run at [it] at a distance of approximately ten miles, the destroyer was 23 miles from the coast and heading further into international waters," the historian says. "Apparently," he explains, "these boats... had mistaken Maddox for a South Vietnamese scout vessel."

In the ensuing engagement, two of the torpedo boats were damaged by planes launched from the carrier Ticonderoga stationed to the south for reasons the study does not explain. A third PT boat was sunk by a direct hit from one of the Maddox's five-inch guns.

The next day, Aug. 4, President Johnson ordered the Maddox reinforced by the destroyer C. Turner Joy and directed that both destroyers be sent back into the gulf, this time with instructions not to approach closer than 11 nautical miles to the North Vietnamese coast. A second aircraft carrier, the Constellation, was instructed to join the Ticonderoga as quickly as possible.

The historian calls these reinforcing actions "a normal precaution" in the light of the first attack on the Maddox and not an attempt to use the destroyers as bait for another attack that would provide a pretext for reprisal air strikes against the North. "Moreover," it comments, "since the augmentation was coupled with a clear [public] statement of intent to continue the patrols and a firm warning to the DRV that a repetition would bring dire consequences, their addition to the patrol could be expected to serve more as a deterrent than a provocation."

2 New Attacks

On the night of Aug. 3, while the De Soto patrol was resuming, two more clandestine 34A attacks were staged. PT boats manned by South Vietnamese crews bombarded the Rhon River estuary and a radar installation at Vin Son. This time, the Maddox and the Turner Joy were definitely warned that the clandestine assaults were going to take place, the documents show.

Apparently expecting the President to order a resumption of the patrol, the admiral commanding the Seventh Fleet asked Gen. Westmoreland on Aug. 3 to furnish him the general location of the planned raids so that the destroyers could steer clear of the 34A force.

On the night of Aug. 4, Tonkin Gulf time, approximately 24 hours after this second 34A assault, North Vietnamese torpedo boats then attacked both the Maddox and the Turner Joy in what was to be the fateful clash in the gulf.

The Pentagon account says that Hanoi's motives for this second attack on the destroyers are still unclear. The narrative ties the attack to the chain of events set off by the 34A raids of July 30 but says that Hanoi's precise motive may have been to recover from the embarrassment of having two torpedo boats damaged and another sunk in

the first engagement with the Maddox, without any harm to the American destroyer.

The study does not raise the question whether the second 34A raid on the night of Aug. 3 or the apparent air strikes on North Vietnamese villages just across the Laotian border on Aug. 1 and 2 by T-28 planes, motivated the Hanoi leadership in any way to order the second engagement with the destroyers.

Whatever the North Vietnamese motives for the second clash, President Johnson moved quickly now to carry out what the analyst calls "recommendations made... by his principal advisers earlier that summer and subsequently placed on the shelf."

Because of the Pacific time difference, the Pentagon received the first word that an attack on the Maddox and the Turner Joy might be imminent at 9:30 a.m. on Aug. 4, after the destroyers had intercepted North Vietnamese radio traffic indicating preparations for an assault. The first message that the destroyers were actually engaged came into the communications center at 11 a.m.

Adm. U.S. Grant Sharp who had replaced Adm. Felt as commander in chief of Pacific Forces, telephoned from Honolulu to suggest bombing the coastal bases for the torpedo boats.

Within ten minutes, Mr. McNamara convened a meeting with the joint chiefs to discuss possibilities for retaliation. Mr. Rusk and Mr. George Bundy joined them.

Twenty-five minutes later, the two secretaries and Mr. Bundy left for a previously scheduled National Security Council meeting at the White House. They would recommend reprisal strikes to the President, while the joint chiefs stayed at the Pentagon to decide on specific targets.

Targets Picked

At 1:35 p.m., the director of the joint staff telephoned Mr. McNamara to say that the chiefs had unanimously agreed on the targets.

At a second National Security Council meeting that afternoon, President Johnson ordered the reprisals, decided to seek the congressional resolution immediately and discussed with his advisers the swift Southeast Asia deployment of the air strike forces designated in Operation Plan 37-64 for the opening blows in a possible bombing campaign against the North. His approval for these plans was apparently given later that day, the study shows.

Mr. McNamara returned to the Pentagon at 3 p.m. to approve the details of the reprisal strikes, code-named Pierce Arrow. An execution order was prepared by the joint staff, but at 4 p.m. Mr. McNamara learned from Adm. Sharp in a telephone conversation that there was now confusion over whether an attack on the destroyers had actually taken place.

The secretary told Adm. Sharp that the reprisal order would remain in effect, but that the admiral was to check and make certain that an attack had really occurred before actually launching the planes. At 4:49 p.m., the formal execution order for the reprisals was transmitted to Honolulu. The order specified that the carriers were to launch their planes within about 2 1/2 hours.

The admiral called back at 5:25 p.m. and again a few minutes after 6 o'clock to say that he was satisfied that the attack had been genuine.

At 6:45 p.m., President Johnson met with 16 congressional leaders from both parties whom he had summoned to the White House. He told them that because of the second unprovoked attack on the American destroyers, he had decided to launch reprisal air strikes against the North and to ask for a congressional resolution, the study says.

The Pentagon study gives no indication that Mr. Johnson informed the congressional leaders of U.S. responsibility for and command of the covert 34A raids on July 30 and Aug. 3.

Nor does the history give any indication that Mr. Johnson told the congressional leaders of what the historian describes as the broader purpose of the deployment—over Operation Plan 37-64, which Mr. McNamara was to announce at a Pentagon news conference the next day and describe as a precautionary move.

At 8:30 p.m. on Aug. 4, Mr. McNamara returned to the Pentagon and, at 11:30 p.m., after several telephone calls to Adm. Sharp, he learned that the Ticon-

deroga had launched its bomb-laden aircraft at 10:43 p.m.

Nation Told

The President did not wait sixteen minutes after Mr. McNamara's last phone call to Adm. Sharp, at 11:36 p.m., he went on television to tell the nation of the reprisal strikes.

The study notes that the administration drafted the congressional resolution for the two men who would sponsor its passage through both houses for the President: Sen. J. William Fulbright, D. Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Rep. Thomas E. Morgan, D. Pa., chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The key language, making the resolution in effect a declaration of war, was:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the Congress approve and support the determination of the President, as commander in chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

"Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in Southeast Asia. Consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

Mr. McNamara and Mr. Rusk both testified on behalf of the resolution in secret sessions of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees on Aug. 6. In his narrative, the Pentagon historian occasionally quotes from and refers to portions of their testimony, which have never been made public by the Pentagon. Along with the history, The Times also obtained more extensive quotations from this portion of the hearing transcript.

Sen. Wayne Morse, D. Ore., had learned that boats manned by South Vietnamese crews had attacked the two North Vietnamese islands on July 30. Sen. Morse, one of two senators who were to vote against the Tonkin Gulf resolution—the other was Ernest L. Gruening, D. Alaska—alleged during the secret hearing on Aug. 6 that Mr. McNamara had known about the raids and that the destroyers had been associated with it.

"First," Mr. McNamara replied, "our Navy played absolutely no part in, was not associated with, was not aware of, any South Vietnamese actions. If there were any... The Maddox was carrying out a routine patrol of the type we carry out all over the world at all times."

No Connection

"I did not have knowledge at the time of the attack on the island," he said. "There is no connection between this patrol and any action by South Vietnam."

Mr. McNamara contended that whatever action had taken place against these North Vietnamese islands had been part of an anti-infiltration operation being conducted by a fleet of coastal patrol junks the United States had helped South Vietnam to organize in December, 1961.

"As part of that, as I reported

to you earlier this week, [Mr. McNamara had testified before the committee in a secret session on Aug. 3 after the first attack on the Maddox], we understand that the South Vietnamese sea force carried out patrol action around these islands and actually shelled the parts they felt were associated with this infiltration.

"Our ships had absolutely no knowledge of it, were not connected with it; in no sense of the word can be considered to have backstopped the effort," he said.

Sen. Frank Church, D. Idaho, then asked Secretary Rusk at the same secret session: "I take it that our government, which supplied these boats... did know that the boats would be used for attacks on North Vietnamese targets and that we acquiesced in that policy. Is that correct?"

"... In the larger sense, that is so, but as far as any particular detail is concerned we don't from Washington follow that in great detail," Mr. Rusk replied.

"They are doing it with our acquiescence and consent, is that correct?" Sen. Church continued.

"But within very limited levels as far as North Vietnam is concerned," Mr. Rusk said.

When Sen. George S. McGovern, D. S.D., subsequently brought up the July 30 attack on the islands during the Senate floor debate on the resolution, Sen. Fulbright replied that he had been assured by the administration that "our boats did not convey or support or back up any South Vietnamese naval vessels" and that the destroyer patrol "was entirely unconnected or unassociated with any coastal forces the South Vietnamese themselves may have conducted."

The congressional resolution passed on Aug. 7 by a vote of 88 to 2 in the Senate and 418 to 0 in the House.

The history makes it clear that

there was no connection between the 34A raids and the coastal patrol junk fleet described by Mr. McNamara and referred to by Mr. Rusk.

There was confusion in Congress, however, over precisely what the resolution meant.

Hanoi Warned

The administration would now communicate the meaning of the resolution to Hanoi by carrying out in a more significant manner an element of the May 23 plan that Washington had already used once in June when the secret Canadian envoy had paid his first visit to Hanoi.

On Aug. 10, Mr. Seaborn was sent back with a second message for Premier Dong, which concluded:

"A. That the events of the past few days should add credibility to the statement made last time, that U.S. public and official patience with North Vietnamese aggression is growing extremely thin."

"B. That the U.S. congressional resolution was passed with near unanimity, strongly reaffirming the unity and determination of the U.S. government and people not only with respect to any further attacks on U.S. military forces but more broadly to continue to oppose firmly, by all necessary means, DRV efforts to subvert and conquer South Vietnam and Laos."

"C. That the U.S. has come to view that the DRV's role in South Vietnam and Laos is critical. If the DRV persists in its present course, it can expect to continue to suffer the consequences. [The word "continue" referred to the reprisal air strikes that followed the Tonkin incident]."

"D. That the DRV knows what it must do if the peace is to be restored."

"E. That the United States ways and means of measuring the participation in and direction and control of the war in South Vietnam and in Laos will be carefully watching DRV's response to what Seaborn is telling them."

During this, as in his first meeting with Mr. Seaborn, June, the history says, "Mr. Pham Van Dong showed himself utterly unimpressed and calmly solved to pursue the course up which the DRV was embarking to what he confidently expected would be its successful conclusion."

In the heat of the Tonkin clash, the administration had accomplished one of the major recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's strategy conference at Honolulu—preparing the American public for escalation.

Little Criticism

The Tonkin Gulf reprisal strikes, the historian writes, "marked the crossing of an important threshold in the war and it was accomplished with virtually no domestic criticism. Indeed, with an evident increase in public support for the administration. The precedent strikes against the North was established and at very little parent cost."

"There was a real cost, however," he concludes, in that the administration was psychologically preparing itself for further escalation. "The number of used measures short of direct military action against the North had been depleted. Greater visibility commitment was purchased at the price of reduced flexibility." As "for all these reasons, when decision to strike the North was faced again, it was much easier to take."

Next—Planning the bombing North Vietnam.

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The Reasons Why

It is characteristic of the Vietnamese war—which, more than any other in history, has been fought, like the battles of Siamese fighting fish, in a glass bowl—that a vast mass of official testimony to its origins and conduct should reach the public while the struggle still continues. The historical study made by the Pentagon—two and a half million words of text and documents—comprises much of the kind of information that usually only reaches the people after defeat and revolution, like the Kautsky documents on World War I, or at least after a decorous interval of a generation or so.

The revelations of the Defense Department study are, to be sure, far from complete. They do not include material from the presidential papers, or the considerations of the National Security Council. More importantly, the "other side" is revealed only as it is seen from "our side." This is, in fact, one of the weaknesses in the fishbowl thesis of the war: One of the fighters still manages to remain secluded in the weeds, only appearing as a flash of teeth, or the flint of a vanishing tail.

Another significant omission are those subtleties of mood and impression which are so important in forming the backgrounds for action, but are so evanescent, so much a matter of time and place that they are difficult to recapture or to document even a short time after the event. The Pentagon historians did include references to American reactions to the war, reactions which were to be so decisive in the last few years. But the atmosphere in which President Truman sent aid to the French in Indochina, and President Eisenhower stiffened the Diem regime in Saigon, and Presidents Kennedy and Johnson sent in troops, is

virtually dissipated, and acts done in that atmosphere seem the madder for it.

This has happened in other wars. The "revisionists" after World War I could dissect, fairly and with reasonable accuracy, the documents contained in the archives of the Ballplatz, the Wilhelmstrasse, the Quai d'Orsay, Whitehall and those other addresses where foreign affairs were sedately conducted. But they did not convey what a picture, say, of Wilhelm II, in eagled helmet, implied to the peoples of the day and their governments. And Adolf Hitler's abrasive voice over the airwaves was as important in its moment as the invasion of Poland.

It can plausibly be argued that such symbolic sounds and images deserve to fade away under the light and the voice of later reason. But it is unfair to pass moral judgments on actions taken under such emotional incitements without bringing them into the account. Vietnam did not exist in a vacuum: there was the looming figure of Stalin; the initial perversion, by force, of the Czechoslovakian republic; the North Koreans who attacked the South; the Chinese who came across the Yalu; the Berlin blockade; the Soviet missiles in Cuba. The Pentagon archive tells much of the reasons why 45,000 Americans died in Vietnam, and the record certainly is not a happy one. But not all the reasons are in the documents—perhaps because they are not wholly reasonable. A mood may be hard to analyze, but it can be the creature of facts. The mood that led to the tragic mistake in Vietnam was born of many harsh realities in the world that has only partially changed since the initial error was made.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

International Opinion

The American's America

Max Clos and Yves Cuau of Paris's *Le Figaro* have just completed a lengthy in-depth report on the United States. The following is from their final article.

Our conclusion is that we are unable to draw one... At best, one can sift out a series of often contradictory impressions. The plentiful mail we have already received shows that each problem dealt with gives rise to an almost equal number of approvals and indignant protests. This is why we shall merely advance the following three propositions. The first is rather commonplace. Montesquieu already expressed it three centuries ago: "How can one be a Persian?" We read in a leading San Francisco newspaper an article devoted to France. Absolutely terrifying!... Nothing was false in the reported facts, but this amalgamation conveyed the impression of a country in the midst of a bloody revolution.

But the idea which the French have of the United States is often as absurd, absurd and very deep-rooted. In France, people are convinced that it is impossible to walk in the streets of an American big city after 9 p.m. When we assert the contrary, people absolutely do not believe us. If we object that we did so every night, we are answered with a shrug: "You were lucky!" The people here know that the United States is undergoing a very grave crisis, that unemployment causes ravages, that youth is in the midst of revolt, that oppressed Negroes are about to launch into a merciless war against the Whites. Our contradiations have indeed a solid argument: "But Marcuse says that..." Then they bluntly ask the question: "Did you read Marcuse?" Well, we did not. We met plumbers, mechanics, lawyers, Negroes, students. None of them had read the old German philosopher. We tried to defend ourselves by pointing out that our American colleagues investigating "The French's France" would have a rather strange vision of our country if they merely visited with Sartre and Lacan.

Second proposition: The deep-rooted idea that the United States is a fascist state is simply grotesque. In no country of the West, not to mention the socialist regimes, is individual freedom so strongly guaranteed. First, because everyone is entirely free to express his opinion... In no country of the world is the film industry so free from any compulsion... And there is television, which has become a formidable means of control of the men in office by public opinion... Vietnam furnishes a perfect example of the role played by television. This is a colonial-like war which, the government claims, is waged in defense of freedom and democracy. Now, since the beginning of the conflict, all the opponents to the Indochinese adventure have been able to come and state

their viewpoint before TV cameras... The brutality of the images shown on the small screen is incredible. The military communications may well be optimistic. TV, in close-ups and often live via satellites shows young troops suffering and dying in the Indochinese jungle and rice paddies. At home in their living rooms, Americans could watch their sons expressing their weariness and disgust. They also watched, much more belatedly, the images of the My Lai massacre. They watched, live, Lt. Calley's defenders and accusers come to grips.

Third proposition: Many brilliant minds, in the United States and Europe, assert that "the American revolution" is under way. To tell the truth we did not clearly see what it consists of... What is clear is that this society, whose foundations were individualism and the struggle for life, is rapidly transforming itself into a socialist society in which it is the State's duty to insure every citizen not only a minimum income but a fair share of happiness...

In the final analysis, there may simply be a misunderstanding about the meaning of the word revolution. America is unquestionably on its way to socialism, if this means a better equality of opportunity and a better sharing of the cake. But the most difficult thing to admit for the majority of Europeans is that workers and employees can reach the political and economic levers without having first imposed on the country the famous dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the contrary which takes place in the United States: One is watching the ascent, without clashes and violence, of a huge middle class basically conservative because actually it already belongs to the bourgeoisie.

—From *Le Figaro* (Paris).

The Temperature in Chile

After a relatively placid and successful first six months of President Allende's government, the political temperature in Chile has risen a little. The far left, which greeted Allende's initial program with suspicion but then rallied to him, has begun to charge him again with being merely a reformer. Peasants have taken over more land, and the president, after first ignoring them, has started to send in the police. Now he faces the renewed possibility of right-wing urban terror. What upsets the far left is his repeated insistence that his social revolution can be brought about by peaceful and constitutional means. What upsets the far right is that he is prepared to change the existing constitution.

—From the *Guardian* (London).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

June 14, 1896

PARIS—A technical commission was ordered by the Paris Municipal Council to investigate and report upon the methods in use for purifying and sterilizing river water. This commission recently presented its report which is somewhat amusing and somewhat sad at the same time. It seems that after all of the scientific advancement of our time, the only practical method of sterilizing water and rendering it harmless is to boil it.

Fifty Years Ago

June 14, 1921

PARIS—Those who conceived the formation of the League of Nations might very logically have included in its organization a section of and for international sport, for in practice this agency has an important influence in promoting a mutual understanding among widely separated peoples. It is to be regretted that the "Olympic" games are not scheduled at more frequent intervals. The universality of honest sport leads to universal peace.



An East Wind Over Malta?

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS—New developments in the Soviet Union's increasingly important naval diplomacy may easily follow this weekend's general election in the tiny independent state of Malta. Should Dom Mintoff, neutralist leader of the Labor party, succeed in ousting the pro-NATO government of Dr. Borg Olivier, Moscow's strikingly successful penetration of the eastern Mediterranean might well be able to edge further westward.

With the exception of the period from 1908 (when its fleet was crippled by the Japanese), to the post World War II era (when the Kremlin decided to construct a mighty new navy), Russia has been a traditional sea power ever since the 15th century. Its ships have often performed diplomatic as well as military roles in the Mediterranean.

Catherine the Great sent an embassy to Malta who indicated a desire to establish an outpost there. When the Knights of Malta, who used to rule the island, were ousted by Napoleon on his way to Egypt, the order offered its grand mastership to Czar Paul.

Instead, the British established a colonial regime there and retained this until 1964, when independence was granted and a ten-year defense treaty was signed. Modest British naval and military installations have been kept up and in 1968 it was even proposed that Malta be admitted to NATO, a project scuttled by Denmark and Norway.

Neutralist Policy

Mintoff appears to have gained strength among the less than 200,000 Maltese voters and has indicated he would like to sever even those indirect links now existing with the North Atlantic coalition, replacing the English pact by a neutralist policy. While he says he would not favor any defense ties with Moscow, he stresses a wish for closer links with anti-Western Arab countries.

None of this is either heinous or illogical. The people of Malta, worried by unemployment and the declining importance of British dockyard facilities, obviously want to improve their lot. An effort in recent years to develop the island into an international tax haven has not had spectacular results, and neither England nor Italy demonstrate much desire to help the faltering economy.

For its part, despite its flickering long-term interest in Malta, Moscow has pursued a tactically discreet line waiting to see if Mintoff can win a majority and what he appears ready to do with it. Yet if an Arab-type neutralism is installed by the Labor government, interesting opportunities may be offered to the Soviet fleet, which already has the use of ports in neutralist Egypt and Syria. Brezhnev indicates he wants full Mediterranean naval equality with the West.

The Soviet Mediterranean fleet varies from a minimum of 42 to a maximum of 53 vessels. Until now their greatest weakness has been a lack of aircraft carriers. However, during World War II, Malta, which heroically fought the Axis, was famous as Britain's "unsinkable carrier."

Arc of Influence

While Russia's admirals and diplomats have carefully probed westward to see if they can extend the arc of their influence beyond the Egypt-Syria zone, so

far they have failed. They did not succeed in obtaining a position in the former French base of Mers El Kheir, Algeria, when France withdrew, and the Libyans haven't offered any naval facilities. Soviet explorations of barren islets far to the west, near Spain, came to nothing.

Nonetheless, in a report last month on European security, military experts of the Western European Union association said: "Malta holds a key position in this area... A proposal for Malta to join NATO was not enthusiastically received by two NATO countries, but was strongly supported by others. The Maltese government now wishes to escape from 'the fortress mentality' and the Labor opposition talks of 'neutralizing' the country."

The report makes the point that "Soviet penetration consists of supplying large quantities of cement." For what purpose—to expand dockyard facilities now used by the British Navy and the U.S. Sixth Fleet? It is also noted that "the key to Malta's prosperity is undoubtedly the opening of the Suez Canal," a goal more fervently and more openly pressed by Moscow than by any other major capital.

All the powers have been playing it cool with respect to Malta until after the elections and the post-electoral policy proclamations of the island's next government. The Kremlin's tact has been notable. Nevertheless, historical tendencies now visible in the Mediterranean basin show a trend toward increased Soviet influence.

The *International Herald Tribune* welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials, but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address.

Letters

Plea for Les Halles

The international petition launched on June 8 to save the Beaubien pavilions of Les Halles has proved that it is not France alone and the Paris Municipal Council that are concerned.

Ninety percent of the letters received in support of the petition were sent from abroad by foreigners who know and appreciate France and French culture and just think that the Municipal Council and Parisians have taken leave of their senses.

The pavilions and Les Halles constitute unquestionably an integral part of the artistic, historic and national heritage of Western civilization. Moreover, in the two years since the food market left Les Halles, the pavilions have served as a spontaneous cultural center of such vitality that the most competent urban planners—and even an American banker who seeks to buy them—are completely amazed.

May I recall that a mere prefect's order sufficed to destroy the abbatical church of Cluny 150

years ago, depriving the Western world of its most beautiful construction in hand-hewn stone. But if the pavilions—these real jewels of 19th century architecture—are now destroyed, the responsibility for this atrocity will not be that of the Municipal Council alone, nor that of the prefect, nor of powerless Parisians. Rather, because of the international importance of the pavilions, I think that President Pompidou alone will be held historically responsible.

That is why I ask President Pompidou, a self-proclaimed lover of the arts and culture in general, to arbitrate this cultural conflict in a way in keeping with the interests of France and of the reputation of French civilization, past, present and future.

Should we also destroy the Arch of Triumph, the Opera and the Eiffel Tower to build other stations for this express subway line?

JEAN SUCHY
Historien de la Construction
Geographe Spécialiste des Transports
C.N.A.M.
Paris.

They have not been released or "leaked" by the Nixon administration, but they are now in the hands of some congressmen and presidential candidates, and they are now being published by The New York Times and in this newspaper.

They do not, of course, tell the whole story. They are in fact, Chester's definition of history still "a confused heap of facts," but they are the first large collection of official documents that help answer the question of how the nation got into this divisive war, and what officials were thinking when they made the critical decisions.

The documents prove once more that truth is the first casualty of war and that war corrupts good men. In fact, the ambiguity of the Nixon administration's zig-zag with a drawl from Vietnam seems, in the light of these documents, almost innocent compared to the deceptive and stealthy American involvement in the war under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

One of the many extraordinary things in this collection is how seldom anybody in the Kennedy or Johnson administrations ever seems to have questioned the moral basis of the American war effort.

Men of unquestioned personal moral character, from Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Walt W. Rostow, and the Bundy brothers on down, seem to have concentrated on the pragmatic questions of whether proposed policies, from bombing to getting out of Dien, would work rather than whether they were justifiable for a great nation fighting for what it proclaimed were moral purposes.

It is true, of course, that all the documents on the American part in the war are not yet available, and presumably officials like Under Secretary of State George Ball who had doubts on the escalation and human cost of the war, kept some of their written dissents out of the files, but even when Johnson was ordering new moves increasing U.S. participation in the actual fighting and keeping this deeper involvement from the Congress, the available record shows almost no protest among the President's closest advisers against what they knew to be deceptions of the American people.

Their attitude seemed to have been that they were in office to serve the President, to help him get what he wanted, whether it was right or wrong. Even when President Kennedy, with the active participation of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, decided to get rid of the Diem regime, the argument against this policy was not that it was wrong but merely that it might leave an awkward political vacuum, which, of course, it did.

Later, of course, McNamara and some of his aides, particularly John McNaughton and Paul Nitze, began, like Ball, to have serious doubts about the efficacy of the bombing and the search-and-destroy missions, and by mid-1967 they were getting their dissents to Johnson, but most of the damage to the American cause had been done by that time.

The China Bet

By Joseph Alsop

WASHINGTON—If you want a promising long-shot bet, put your money on state relations between the United States and Communist China—without any public abandonment of the Chinese Nationalist government on Taiwan, and before the 1972 election.

President Nixon wants to have an ambassador in Peking before the coming election, for rather obvious reasons in the current political climate. That should be obvious to anyone from his recent moves.

The extremely bold relaxation of the idiotic restrictions on trade with the Chinese Communists had strong opposition in the Defense Department. The still more important change in the maritime shipping rules, which have deprived the United States of all trade profits from the Communist bloc, had even stronger labor opposition, plus many opponents in Congress. These facts should be enough to reveal the President's ultimate goal.

Only one clause in the bet above suggested makes it a bit of a long shot, in fact. The wolverines among the academic sinologists are tearfully proclaiming that we really must abandon the Taiwan government publicly and in the most dastardly manner, if we want full relations with Peking.

Paying the Price

This was the price paid by Gen. De Gaulle to open relations with "La Grande Chine." This was also the price the Canadians and others have paid, although perhaps in a less humiliating manner. The argument is that the Chinese will always demand this price.

But the first point to note is that the Chinese Communist government has already changed its former policy. For it was the Chinese, not the Americans, who altered course when the Peking authorities opened "people-to-people" relations over the ping pong table.

As to the second point to note, it is the obvious, massive and fairly alarming motive for the Chinese policy change. The motive was the extremely threatening Soviet military buildup on the Soviet frontier with China. In the three years, 1968, 1969 and 1970, the Soviet forces on the frontier actually tripled; and the build-up still continues.

It begins to be possible to put numbers to the build-up, too. Chou En-lai has told foreign visitors that the Soviets have a million troops on China's border.

der. And he could just imaginably be right if the logistical and supporting units are counted as equal in manpower to the fighting units.

The Soviet divisions on the border now number about 45. Two new Mongolian divisions have been created, as well; and the 70,000 Soviet frontier troops, although not regular army, have been given the character of regular units with tanks and other heavy arms. There are also considerable numbers of specialized Soviet units armed with nuclear missiles which are mobile and have a 500-mile range.

The whole pattern of Soviet preparations, furthermore, is tailored to a preventive attack, aimed to take out China's growing nuclear power—and to take it out with nuclear weapons. This does not mean that such a preventive attack is certain.

But the Chinese obviously see and quite rightly, that it is foolishly to say that people will never do what they are clearly preparing to do. So the Chinese are deeply worried.

'Go' or 'No Go'

Whether these Chinese worries are justified or not will be known at some time in the next one and-a-half to three years. The will come the now-or-never moment, when the growth of Chinese nuclear power will begin to change the odds and risks. At that moment, the Soviets will be forced to decide whether to go the order, "Go," or the order, "No Go."

There is another factor, too, that makes it prudent for the Chinese to worry about the future moment. This is the very staggering expense of the Soviet build-up itself, and also the subsequent maintenance, such as a big Soviet force at the end of an almost impossibly long supply line. No one may immediately fully prepare with no thought at all of action on them.

This, then, is the motive for the change in Chinese Communist policy that has occurred already. The real sticking point for much more radical future change is certainly the Taiwan problem. President Nixon certainly not abandon the Chinese Nationalists to carry favor with the Chinese Communists. Yet would clearly like relations with both.

And U.S.-Chinese Communist relations are by no means impossible if the Chinese and think an American embassy Peking will usefully change Soviet calculations.

The McNamara Papers

By James Reston

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End of Cliché

It is difficult to read these documents and go on repeating the old cliché that successive U.S. governments "stumbled" into the war and then blithely staggered from one escalation to the next. Actually, the estimates of the Central Intelligence Agency, particularly on the effect of the bombing, proved to be quite good.

The CIA said repeatedly that it did not think the U.S. bomb would either break the spirit of the North Vietnamese or stop flow of military supplies from North into South Vietnam.

More than that, the intelligence estimates were by no means accurate. The enemy would not surrender because whatever put in, the enemy would not. Nevertheless, in the end, it seems not to have been able to conceive of the notion that enemy soldiers, about a very little, could possibly stand the threats, let alone the use of American military power.

Two assumptions were so easily made to justify the American effort, long after the fact, that they were shaky. First, that the United States was engaged in stopping a strategic world move by Mao and Peking, and second, failure to stop it in Vietnam would lead to spectacular communist victories elsewhere, therefore to a major change in the Asian balance of power, detrimental to the vital interests of the United States.

Even when the casualties totted the tens of thousands divided the nation, officials still taking the next step as next on the argument that global strategic issues were at stake.

Ironically, McNamara was so responsible for our ord this vast study of what went wrong, and in the process furnished compelling evidence against himself and his colleagues in the Johnson and Kennedy administrations.

Also, by bringing historical from the outside and asking for candid analysis of the documents, McNamara has provided a good foundation for a serious history of the war, a careful examination of decision-making process to so many blunders.

"History," said Gribble, "is more than the register of crimes, follies, and misfortunes mankind," and the McNamara Papers add compelling new evidence to this melancholy elation.

Eurobonds

Bundesbank Dollar Sales Fail To Benefit the Bond Market

By Carl Gewirtz

PARIS, June 13 (REUTERS)—Dollar sales by the German Bundesbank continued to fail to benefit the Eurobond market.

For the most part, it appeared that commercial banks were getting these dollars and using them to finance the interim standby credits of their corporate customers who prefer not to tap the bond market at this point.

Short-term Eurodollar rates, which began declining when the Bundesbank started selling dollars on June 2 after a month-long hiatus, were virtually unchanged at the end of last week from the week earlier levels. However, bankers found some encouragement in the fact that the trend is expected to continue upward.

As the spread opens up, it is expected that a technically healthier bond market, a banker noted, but a spread of at least two percentage points would be needed between these short-term rates and the long-term bond rates before it would become attractive to use them to buy bonds, he said. In addition, any revival of bond activity would need "a vacuum of confidence, which is difficult to achieve while rates are floating."

In new issue news, Banque Nationale de Paris, the largest bank in the Continental market, announced it would offer \$35 million of 6-year notes with a coupon of 8 1/4 percent. The issue is expected to be priced at 98.

There had been some question whether the market for such medium-term instruments had reached the saturation point—some \$400 million has been raised so far this year compared with

\$636 million in the year-ago period.

Prompting the question was the decision to cut \$5 million from the Rahm & Haas 7-year note offering, reducing it to \$10 million. The issue was priced on Tuesday at 97 1/2 with a coupon of 8 percent. (The \$15 million of 10-year bonds were priced at 98 with a coupon of 8 3/4.)

Cutting the size of the note came as a surprise, since that end of the market has been considered much easier to tap than the long end.

The reason, apparently, is that the issue was a victim of the Eurodollar credit crunch that was building prior to the re-entry of the Bundesbank as a seller of dollars. Eurodollar rates were at 8 percent before the re-entry and the subsequent 3/4-point drop came too late to save the issue.

On the secondary market, the Haas bonds were quoted on Friday at 96 1/4 bid-97 1/4 asked, and the notes at 96-97.

One other new issue last week was the long-expected announcement from Alcoa Aluminum International, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Swiss Aluminum. It is offering \$35 million of 10-year bonds with warrants. These are convertible into 15 Alcoa shares and are exercisable from Aug. 1, 1971, through Sept. 30, 1976. The bonds will have an average life of 8 1/2 years.

The coupon rate is expected to be between 7 and 7 1/4 percent, but final terms, including price of the bond and the conversion price of the warrants—expected at 5 to 10 percent below the share price at the fixing date—are to be set June 22.

Economic Indicators

WEEKLY COMPARISONS

| | Latest Week | Prior Week | 1970 |
|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Commodity Index..... | 107.2 | 107.7 | 111.0 |
| Currency in circ..... | \$57,851,000 | \$57,185,000 | \$54,057,000 |
| *Total loans..... | \$84,145,000 | \$85,670,000 | \$90,414,000 |
| Steel prod. (tons)..... | 2,786,000 | 2,914,000 | 2,653,000 |
| Auto production..... | 181,821 | 185,481 | 185,481 |
| Daily car prod. (bills)..... | 8,745,000 | 8,762,000 | 8,515,000 |
| Fruit & veg. loadings..... | 496,748 | 577,181 | 537,027 |
| *Elec. Pow. kw-hr..... | 29,545,000 | 29,113,000 | 28,094,000 |
| Business failures..... | 205 | 199 | 235 |

Statistics for commercial-agricultural loans, carloadings, steel, oil, electric power and business failures are for the preceding week and latest available.

MONTHLY COMPARISONS

| | 1970 | Prior Month | 1970 |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Employed..... | 78,587,000 | 78,587,000 | 78,587,000 |
| Unemployed..... | 5,217,000 | 5,217,000 | 5,217,000 |
| Industrial production..... | 166.6 | 165.5 | 170.4 |
| *Personal income..... | \$834,300,000 | \$834,300,000 | \$777,000,000 |
| Consumer's Price Index..... | 124.3 | 124.3 | 124.0 |
| *Money supply..... | \$221,200,000 | \$219,400,000 | \$203,300,000 |
| Construction contracts..... | 161 | 142 | 203 |

*Mfrs. Inventories.....\$99,542,000 \$99,418,000 \$97,604,000
Exports.....\$5,543,100 \$5,543,100 \$5,449,700
Imports.....\$5,707,500 \$5,569,200 \$5,247,500

U.S. 480 cented figures subject to revision by source.

Commodity Index, based on 1957=100 and the consumer price index, based on 1967=100, are compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Industrial production is Federal Reserve Board. Business failures are compiled by the Bureau of the Department of Commerce. Money supply is total currency outside banks and demand deposits adjusted as reported by the Federal Reserve Board. Construction contracts are compiled by the F. W. Dodge Division, McGraw-Hill Information Systems Company.

In Zurich, the price of the shares fell on the news from 2,700 francs to 2,525 (9618) by the Zurich Exchange.

The Swiss banks underwriting the issue have allotted themselves \$20 million, leaving \$15 million for distribution elsewhere.

Still on offer are Scott Paper's \$20 million, 8 3/4 percent, 15-year issue and Denmark's 25 million

Does Economy Need Patience or Prodding? Wide Division of Opinion Among Experts

By Thomas E. Mullaney

NEW YORK, June 13 (NYT).

From commentary, conversations and other soundings, it is clear that there is currently a wide division of opinion among businessmen, economists and government officials about the vitality of the economy as mid-year approaches.

Some are holding to the view that business is gradually improving and that the best posture for the moment is patience. Others are quite dissatisfied with the sluggishness of the recovery from the 1969-70 recession and are firmly advocating the injection of any new stimulus to strengthen it.

Among those who back a cautious course on changes in national economic policy are such top executives as H. I. Romnes, chairman of American Telephone & Telegraph; James M. Roche, chairman of General Motors; David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank; and Walter S. Holmes, president of the CIT Financial Corporation.

In the group espousing a more activist program in Washington are Stewart S. Cort, chairman of Bethlehem Steel; Robert C. Sarant, chairman of RCA, and some prominent political economists.

In an informal sampling of these and other executive reactions to the state of the economy last week by the New York Times, no one expressed any great enthusiasm about the extent of economic recovery so far. Most said they were merely encouraged by the signs of recovery and by the hope that it would be extended.

Leading economists are also

split in their assessments of the economic situation and what, if anything, ought to be done to spur the economy and reduce unemployment.

At one pole is the Walter Heller-Arthur Okun band that is pushing for more action to prod the economy along right now—a speed-up in personal income-tax cuts, better unemployment compensation programs and federal aid to states and local governments.

At the other pole are such economists as Lief Olson, who maintain the economy is developing pronounced strength and does not need any new stimulus, except perhaps a tax cut to redirect resources to the private sector from the government sector.

Publicly at least, government economic officials have been adhering to the line that the economy is coming back on schedule and that further progress surely lies ahead without any new aid.

The most valid assessment at this point seems to be the one that predicted moderate accomplishments for 1971—in economic growth, in reducing inflation and perhaps in diminishing unemployment.

The economy this year may well manage to post a 7 1/2 percent rate of economic growth and reduce inflation from the 5 1/2 percent rate of last year to 4 1/2 percent or so, but the outlook

is less promising for getting unemployment down very much from the present 6.2 percent level. With an eye toward increasing productivity and profits, American industry will remain extremely wary about adding to employee rolls for some time ahead.

Nevertheless, the prospect for 1971 is for solid accomplishment, although admittedly not up to the over-zealous predictions of administration economists at the beginning of the year.

Their target of a \$1,065 billion gross national product looks less likely as the year moves along while the consensus of private forecasters for a GNP in the vicinity of \$1,050 billion seems much more probable.

Hardly Encouraging

There was a dearth of news last week giving readings on the course of the economy, but the data that did become available were hardly encouraging.

For the first time in several weeks, the retail statistics were not buoyant. Steel production took a sharp 4.4 percent plunge. And there were layoffs and plant shutdowns in the steel, auto, textile and other industries.

After successive gains each week since mid-March, retail business across the country in the last week was virtually unchanged from a year ago at \$7.29 billion. Moreover, volume for May at \$23.3 billion in a preliminary estimate showed a decline of 1 percent from April's total business, although it did represent a rather strong 6 percent advance over the May, 1970, figure.

In the bond market last week, prices slumped after their strong

(Continued on Page 11, Col. 8)

Amex and Over-Counter

By Alexander R. Hammer

NEW YORK, June 13 (NYT)—Prices of most stocks on the American Stock Exchange and in the over-the-counter market finished lower last week in very dull trading.

The majority of price changes averaged about one point except for some issues responding to special situations or corporate news. Brokers attributed most of the weakness last week to investor concern that some slowing in the money-supply growth by the Federal Reserve system would push up interest rates again.

They said that an indication that the monetary policy will be more restrictive was the Federal Reserve's action this week to take some funds out of the banking system by selling U.S. treasury bills.

The action of the Bank of America and some other West Coast banks in increasing minimum mortgage rates to 7 1/2 percent from 7 percent and in raising rates they will pay on certain longer-term savings deposits also caused uneasiness among investors, the brokers noted.

The exchange's price index pinpointed the lower trend of the market. It closed on Friday at 25.90, down 0.17 point from the close of the preceding week. Turnover on the exchange slumped to 16,699,440 shares from 17,344,530 shares in the previous week.

It was not much different in the over-the-counter market, where the industrial index fell 0.15 point to end the week at 113.94.

Over-Counter Market

High Low Last Chg

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| Amstar Corp. | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 0 |
| Amstar Corp. A | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 0 |
| Amstar Corp. B | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 0 |
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| Amstar Corp. Q | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 0 |
| Amstar Corp. R | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 0 |
| Amstar Corp. S | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 0 |
| Amstar Corp. T | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 0 |
| Amstar Corp. U | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 11 1/4 | 0 |
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High Low Last Chg

| | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 | 2028 | 2029 | 2030 | 2031 | 2032 | 2033 | 2034 | 2035 | 2036 | 2037 | 2038 | 2039 | 2040 | 2041 | 2042 | 2043 | 2044 | 2045 | 2046 | 2047 | 2048 | 2049 | 2050 | 2051 | 2052 | 2053 | 2054 | 2055 | 2056 | 2057 | 2058 | 2059 | 2060 | 2061 | 2062 | 2063 | 2064 | 2065 | 2066 | 2067 | 2068 | 2069 | 2070 | 2071 | 2072 | 2073 | 2074 | 2075 | 2076 | 2077 | 2078 | 2079 | 2080 | 2081 | 2082 | 2083 | 2084 | 2085 | 2086 | 2087 | 2088 | 2089 | 2090 | 2091 | 2092 | 2093 | 2094 | 2095 | 2096 | 2097 | 2098 | 2099 | 2100 | 2101 | 2102 | 2103 | 2104 | 2105 | 2106 | 2107 | 2108 | 2109 | 2110 | 2111 | 2112 | 2113 | 2114 | 2115 | 2116 | 2117 | 2118 | 2119 | 2120 | 2121 | 2122 | 2123 | 2124 | 2125 | 2126 | 2127 | 2128 | 2129 | 2130 | 2131 | 2132 | 2133 | 2134 | 2135 | 2136 | 2137 | 2138 | 2139 | 2140 | 2141 | 2142 | 2143 | 2144 | 2145 | 2146 | 2147 | 2148 | 2149 | 2150 | 2151 | 2152 | 2153 | 2154 | 2155 | 2156 | 2157 | 2158 | 2159 | 2160 | 2161 | 2162 | 2163 | 2164 | 2165 | 2166 | 2167 | 2168 | 2169 | 2170 | 2171 | 2172 | 2173 | 2174 | 2175 | 2176 | 2177 | 2178 | 2179 | 2180 | 2181 | 2182 | 2183 | 2184 | 2185 | 2186 | 2187 | 2188 | 2189 | 2190 | 2191 | 2192 | 2193 | 2194 | 2195 | 2196 | 2197 | 2198 | 2199 | 2200 | 2201 | 2202 | 2203 | 2204 | 2205 | 2206 | 2207 | 2208 | 2209 | 2210 | 2211 | 2212 | 2213 | 2214 | 2215 | 2216 | 2217 | 2218 | 2219 | 2220 | 2221 | 2222 | 2223 | 2224 | 2225 | 2226 | 2227 | 2228 | 2229 | 2230 | 2231 | 2232 | 2233 | 2234 | 2235 | 2236 | 2237 | 2238 | 2239 | 2240 | 2241 | 2242 | 2243 | 2244 | 2245 | 2246 | 2247 | 2248 | 2249 | 2250 | 2251 | 2252 | 2253 | 2254 | 2255 | 2256 | 2257 | 2258 | 2259 | 2260 | 2261 | 2262 | 2263 | 2264 | 2265 | 2266 | 2267 | 2268 | 2269 | 2270 | 2271 | 2272 | 2273 | 2274 | 2275 | 2276 | 2277 | 2278 | 2279 | 2280 | 2281 | 2282 | 2283 | 2284 | 2285 | 2286 | 2287 | 2288 | 2289 | 2290 | 2291 | 2292 | 2293 | 2294 | 2295 | 2296 | 2297 | 2298 | 2299 | 2300 | 2301 | 2302 | 2303 | 2304 | 2305 | 2306 | 2307 | 2308 | 2309 | 2310 | 2311 | 2312 | 2313 | 2314 | 2315 | 2316 | 2317 | 2318 | 2319 | 2320 | 2321 | 2322 | 2323 | 2324 | 2325 | 2326 | 2327 | 2328 | 2329 | 2330 | 2331 | 2332 | 2333 | 2334 | 2335 | 2336 | 2337 | 2338 | 2339 | 2340 | 2341 | 2342 | 2343 | 2344 | 2345 | 2346 | 2347 | 2348 | 2349 | 2350 | 2351 | 2352 | 2353 | 2354 | 2355 | 2356 | 2357 | 2358 | 2359 | 2360 | 2361 | 2362 | 2363 | 2364 | 2365 | 2366 | 2367 | 2368 | 2369 | 2370 | 2371 | 2372 | 2373 | 2374 | 2375 | 2376 | 2377 | 2378 | 2379 | 2380 | 2381 | 2382 | 2383 | 2384 | 2385 | 2386 | 2387 | 2388 | 2389 | 2390 | 2391 | 2392 | 2393 | 2394 | 2395 | 2396 | 2397 | 2398 | 2399 | 2400 | 2401 | 2402 | 2403 | 2404 | 2405 | 2406 | 2407 | 2408 | 2409 | 2410 | 2411 | 2412 | 2413 | 2414 | 2415 | 2416 | 2417 | 2418 | 2419 | 2420 | 2421 | 2422 | 2423 | 2424 | 2425 | 2426 | 2427 | 2428 | 2429 | 2430 | 2431 | 2432 | 2433 | 2434 | 2435 | 2436 | 2437 | 2438 | 2439 | 2440 | 2441 | 2442 | 2443 | 2444 | 2445 | 2446 | 2447 | 2448 | 2449 | 2450 | 2451 | 2452 | 2453 | 2454 | 2455 | 2456 | 2457 | 2458 | 2459 | 2460 | 2461 | 2462 | 2463 | 2464 | 2465 | 2466 | 2467 | 2468 | 2469 | 2470 | 2471 | 2472 | 2473 | 2474 | 2475 | 2476 | 2477 | 2478 | 2479 | 2480 | 2481 | 2482 | 2483 | 2484 | 2485 | 2486 | 2487 | 2488 | 2489 | 2490 | 2491 | 2492 | 2493 | 2494 | 2495 | 2496 | 2497 | 2498 | 2499 | 2500 | 2501 | 2502 | 2503 | 2504 | 2505 | 2506 | 2507 | 2508 | 2509 | 2510 | 2511 | 2512 | 2513 | 2514 | 2515 | 2516 | 2517 | 2518 | 2519 | 2520 | 2521 | 2522 | 2523 | 2524 | 2525 | 2526 | 2527 | 2528 | 2529 | 2530 | 2531 | 2532 | 2533 | 2534 | 2535 | 2536 | 2537 | 2538 | 2539 | 2540 | 2541 | 2542 | 2543 | 2544 | 2545 | 2546 | 2547 | 2548 | 2549 | 2550 | 2551 | 2552 | 2553 | 2554 | 2555 | 2556 | 2557 | 2558 | 2559 | 2560 | 2561 | 2562 | 2563 | 2564 | 2565 | 2566 | 2567 | 2568 | 2569 | 2570 | 2571 | 2572 | 2573 | 2574 | 2575 | 2576 | 2577 | 2578 | 2579 | 2580 | 2581 | 2582 | 2583 | 2584 | 2585 | 2586 | 2587 | 2588 | 2589 | 2590 | 2591 | 2592 | 2593 | 2594 | 2595 | 2596 | 2597 | 2598 | 2599 | 2600 | 2601 | 2602 | 2603 | 2604 | 2605 | 2606 | 2607 | 2608 | 2609 | 2610 | 2611 | 2612 | 2613 | 2614 | 2615 | 2616 | 2617 | 2618 | 2619 | 2620 | 2621 | 2622 | 2623 | 2624 | 2625 | 2626 | 2627 | 2628 | 2629 | 2630 | 2631 | 2632 | 2633 | 2634 | 2635 | 2636 | 2637 | 2638 | 2639 | 2640 | 2641 | 2642 | 2643 | 2644 | 2645 | 2646 | 2647 | 2648 | 2649 | 2650 | 2651 | 2652 | 2653 | 2654 | 2655 | 2656 | 2657 | 2658 | 2659 | 2660 | 2661 | 2662 | 2663 | 2664 | 2665 | 2666 | 2667 | 2668 | 2669 | 2670 | 2671 | 2672 | 2673 | 2674 | 2675 | 2676 | 2677 | 2678 | 2679 | 2680 | 2681 | 2682 | 2683 | 2684 | 2685 | 2686 | 2687 | 2688 | 2689 | 2690 | 2691 | 2692 | 2693 | 2694 | 2695 | 2696 | 2697 | 2698 | 2699 | 2700 | 2701 | 2702 | 2703 | 2704 | 2705 | 2706 | 2707 | 2708 | 2709 | 2710 | 2711 | 2712 | 2713 | 2714 | 2715 | 2716 | 2717 | 2718 | 2719 | 2720 | 2721 | 2722 | 2723 | 2724 | 2725 | 2726 | 2727 | 2728 | 2729 | 2730 | 2731 | 2732 | 2733 | 2734 | 2735 | 2736 | 2737 | 2738 | 2739 | 2740 | 2741 | 2742 | 2743 | 2744 | 2745 | 2746 | 2747 | 2748 | 2749 | 2750 | 2751 | 2752 | 2753 | 2754 | 2755 | 2756 | 2757 | 2758 | 2759 | 2760 | 2761 | 2762 | 2763 | 2764 | 2765 | 2766 | 2767 | 2768 | 2769 | 2770 | 2771 | 2772 | 2773 | 2774 | 2775 | 2776 | 2777 | 2778 | 2779 | 2780 | 2781 | 2782 | 2783 | 2784 | 2785 | 2786 | 2787 | 2788 | 2789 | 2790 | 2791 | 2792 | 2793 | 2794 | 2795 | 2796 | 2797 | 2798 | 2799 | 2800 | 2801 | 2802 | 2803 | 2804 | 2805 | 2806 | 2807 | 2808 | 2809 | 2810 | 2811 | 2812 | 2813 | 2814 | 2815 | 2816 | 2817 | 2818 | 2819 | 2820 | 2821 | 2822 | 2823 | 2824 | 2825 | 2826 | 2827 | 2828 | 2829 | 2830 | 2831 | 2832 | 2833 | 2834 | 2835 | 2836 | 2837 | 2838 | 2839 | 2840 | 2841 | 2842 | 2843 | 2844 | 2845 | 2846 | 2847 | 2848 | 2849 | 2850 | 2851 | 2852 | 2853 | 2854 | 2855 | 2856 | 2857 | 2858 | 2859 | 2860 | 2861 | 2862 | 2863 | 2864 | 2865 | 2866 | 2867 | 2868 | 2869 | 2870 | 2871 | 2872 | 2873 | 2874 | 2875 | 2876 | 2877 | 2878 | 2879 | 2880 | 2881 | 2882 | 2883 | 2884 | 2885 | 2886 | 2887 | 2888 | 2889 | 2890 | 2891 | 2892 | 2893 | 2894 | 2895 | 2896 | 2897 | 2898 | 2899 | 2900 | 2901 | 2902 | 2903 | 2904 | 2905 | 2906 | 2907 | 2908 | 2909 | 2910 | 2911 | 2912 | 2913 | 2914 | 2915 | 2916 | 2917 | 2918 | 2919 | 2920 | 2921 | 2922 | 2923 | 2924 | 2925 | 2926 | 2927 | 2928 | 2929 | 2930 | 2931 | 2932 | 2933 | 2934 | 2935 | 2936 | 2937 | 2938 | 2939 | 2940 | 2941 | 2942 | 2943 | 2944 | 2945 | 2946 | 2947 | 2948 | 2949 | 2950 | 2951 | 2952 | 2953 | 2954 | 2955 | 2956 | 2957 | 2958 | 2959 | 2960 | 2961 | 2962 | 2963 | 2964 | 2965 | 2966 | 2967 | 2968 | 2969 | 2970 | 2971 | 2972 | 2973 | 2974 | 2975 | 2976 | 2977 | 2978 | 2979 | 2980 | 2981 | 2982 | 2983 | 2984 | 2985 | 2986 | 2987 | 2988 | 2989 | 2990 | 2991 | 2992 | 2993 | 2994 | 2995 | 2996 | 2997 | 2998 | 2999 | 3000 | 3001 | 3002 | 3003 | 3004 | 3005 | 3006 | 3007 | 3008 | 3009 | 3010 | 3011 | 3012 | 3013 | 3014 | 3015 | 3016 | 3017 | 3018 | 3019 | 3020 | 3021 | 3022 | 3023 | 3024 | 3025 | 3026 | 3027 | 3028 | 3029 | 3030 | 3031 | 3032 | 3033 | 3034 | 3035 | 3036 | 3037 | 3038 | 3039 | 3040 | 3041 | 3042 | 3043 | 3044 | 3045 | 3046 | 3047 | 3048 | 3049 | 3050 | 3051 | 3052 | 3053 | 3054 | 3055 | 3056 | 3057 | 3058 | 3059 | 3060 | 3061 | 3062 | 3063 | 3064 | 3065 | 3066 | 3067 | 3068 | 3069 | 3070 | 3071 | 3072 | 3073 | 3074 | 3075 | 3076 | 3077 | 3078 | 3079 | 3080 | 3081 | 3082 | 3083 | 3084 | 3085 | 3086 | 3087 | 3088 | 3089 | 3090 | 3091 | 3092 | 3093 | 3094 | 3095 | 3096 | 3097 | 3098 | 3099 | 3100 | 3101 | 3102 | 3103 | 3104 | 3105 | 3106 | 3107 | 3108 | 3109 | 3110 | 3111 | 3112 | 3113 | 3114 | 3115 | 3116 | 3117 | 3118 | 3119 | 3120 | 3121 | 3122 | 3123 | 3124 | 3125 | 3126 | 3127 | 3128 | 3129 | 3130 | 3131 | 3132 | 3133 | 3134 | 3135 | 3136 | 3137 | 3138 | 3139 | 3140 | 3141 | 3142 | 3143 | 3144 | 3145 | 3146 | 3147 | 3148 | 3149 | 3150 | 3151 | 3152 | 3153 | 3154 | 3155 | 3156 | 3157 | 3158 | 3159 | 3160 | 3161 | 3162 | 3163 | 3164 | 3165 | 3166 | 3167 | 3168 | 3169 | 3170 | 3171 | 3172 | 3173 | 3174 | 3175 | 3176 | 3177 | 3178 | 3179 | 3180 | 3181 | 3182 | 3183 | 3184 | 3185 | 3186 | 3187 | 3188 | 3189 | 3190 | 3191 | 3192 | 3193 | 3194 | 3195 | 3196 | 3197 | 3198 | 3199 | 3200 | 3201 | 3202 | 3203 | 3204 | 3205 | 3206 | 3207 | 3208 | 3209 | 3210 | 3211 | 3212 | 3213 | 3214 | 3215 | 3216 | 3217 | 3218 | 3219 | 3220 | 3221 | 3222 | 3223 | 3224 | 3225 | 3226 | 3227 | 3228 | 3229 | 3230 | 3231 | 3232 | 3233 | 3234 | 3235 | 3236 | 3237 | 3238 | 3239 | 3240 | 3241 | 3242 | 3243 | 3244 | 3245 | 3246 | 3247 | 3248 | 3249 | 3250 | 3251 | 3252 | 3253 | 3254 | 3255 | 3256 | 3257 | 3258 | 3259 | 3260 | 3261 | 3262 | 3263 | 3264 | 3265 | 3266 | 3267 | 3268 | 3269 | 3270 | 3271 | 3272 | 3273 | 3274 | 3275 | 3276 | 3277 | 3278 | 3279 | 3280 | 3281 | 3282 | 3283 | 3284 | 3285 | 3286 | 3287 | 3288 | 3289 | 3290 | 3291 | 3292 | 3293 | 3294 | 3295 | 3296 | 3297 | 3298 | 3299 | 3300 | 3301 | 3302 | 3303 | 3304 | 3305 | 3306 | 3307 | 3308 | 3309 | 3310 | 3311 | 3312 | 3313 | 3314 | 3315 | 3316 | 3317 | 3318 | 3319 | 3320 | 3321 | 3322 | 3323 | 3324 | 3325 | 3326 | 3327 | 3328 | 3329 | 3330 | 3331 | 3332 | 3333 | 3334 | 3335 | 3336 | 3337 | 3338 | 3339 | 3340 | 3341 | 3342 | 3343 | 3344 | 3345 | 3346 | 3347 | 3348 | 3349 | 3350 | 3351 | 3352 | 3353 | 3354 | 3355 | 3356 | 3357 | 3358 | 3359 | 3360 | 3361 | 3362 | 3363 | 3364 | 3365 | 3366 | 3367 | |
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N.Y. Stock Exchange

| Week Ended June 12, 1971 | Sales | High | Low | Close | Chg. |
|--------------------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| NYSE | 692,500 | 46 1/4 | 46 1/8 | 46 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| NASDAQ | 62,500 | 15 1/4 | 15 1/8 | 15 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| AMEX | 40,500 | 2 1/4 | 2 1/8 | 2 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| OTC | 47,100 | 20 1/4 | 20 1/8 | 20 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| NYSE | 485,000 | 45 1/4 | 45 1/8 | 45 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| AMEX | 40,500 | 2 1/4 | 2 1/8 | 2 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| OTC | 47,100 | 20 1/4 | 20 1/8 | 20 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| NYSE | 485,000 | 45 1/4 | 45 1/8 | 45 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| AMEX | 40,500 | 2 1/4 | 2 1/8 | 2 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| OTC | 47,100 | 20 1/4 | 20 1/8 | 20 1/4 | + 1/8 |

American Exchange

| Week Ended June 12, 1971 | Sales | High | Low | Close | Chg. |
|--------------------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| NYSE | 692,500 | 46 1/4 | 46 1/8 | 46 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| NASDAQ | 62,500 | 15 1/4 | 15 1/8 | 15 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| AMEX | 40,500 | 2 1/4 | 2 1/8 | 2 1/4 | + 1/8 |
| OTC | 47,100 | 20 1/4 | 20 1/8 | 20 1/4 | + 1/8 |

Treasury Bills

| Due | 3M | 6M | 1Y | 2Y | 3Y |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1/1 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 1/2 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 3/1 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 3/2 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 6/1 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 6/2 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 9/1 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 9/2 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 12/1 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |
| 12/2 | 4.50 | 4.75 | 4.90 | 5.00 | 5.10 |

Market Averages

| Week Ended June 12, 1971 | Dow Jones | S&P 500 | NASDAQ | AMEX | OTC |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| NYSE | 46 1/4 | 15 1/4 | 2 1/4 | 20 1/4 | 45 1/4 |
| AMEX | 2 1/4 | 15 1/4 | 2 1/4 | 20 1/4 | 45 1/4 |
| OTC | 20 1/4 | 15 1/4 | 2 1/4 | 20 1/4 | 45 1/4 |

Insurance Stocks

| Company | Price | Chg. |
|-------------|--------|-------|
| Am Fam Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am Gen Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am Ind Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am Mut Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am Nat Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am Sec Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am Sur Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am Tru Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am W Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Am W Life | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |

International Bonds

| Country | Yield | Price |
|---------|--------|---------|
| France | 10 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Germany | 10 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Italy | 10 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Japan | 10 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| UK | 10 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| US | 10 1/2 | 102 1/2 |

Bank Stock Quotations

| Bank | Price | Chg. |
|----------------|--------|-------|
| Am Bank | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Bank of Am | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Bank of Ind | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Bank of NY | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Bank of So Cal | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Bank of Va | 42 1/2 | + 1/4 |

Patience or Prodding: Opinion Divided on U.S. Economy

(Continued from Page 9)

The week before and interest rates headed upward again. The rise in yield on AA-rated utility bonds, for example, was rather substantial, reaching the 8.10 percent area on June 10, as compared with 7.75 percent one week earlier.

Looking for Signs

The tax-exempt bond market also experienced a rather marked upward move over the same interval, with the bond buyer yield index advancing from 5.70 percent to 5.87 percent.

Whether bond prices and interest rates now? The outlook has been pretty well talked out by Wall Street's experts. Now the market is looking for some new sign—either from the Fed or from the economy—to tell it which way rates will move next.

The New York Stock Exchange turned extremely cautious, with trading contracted, last week as investors awaited developments in the economy and on interest rates.

Observers noted also that a huge amount of equity financing, which means new amounts of stock for sale, was a factor in the caution at a time when buying has been lackadaisical. Airlines and utilities, among others, are coming to market with new stock.

Prices closed generally lower for the week, with 1,037 issues down and 639 up, and all the leading market averages showing slight losses.

The Dow Jones industrial stock index declined 5.58 points to 916.47; the New York Times combined average was off 5.17; the Standard & Poor's 500-stock index dipped 0.23 to 101.07, and the New York Stock Exchange composite eased 0.15 to 55.80.

Volume on the Big Board for the five sessions totaled 65.3 million shares, against 62.8 million for the four sessions of the preceding holiday week.

American Telephone, the week's most active issue, climbed 1 3/8 to 46 on volume totaling 692,500 shares. Ma Bell's stock showed a gain of 1 1/8 on Friday, in response to Wall Street purchase recommendations.

The relatively high yield—5.85 percent at the week's closing price—was said to provide one plus factor. In late May, the stock sold at a 1971 low of 44 after unveiling plans for its month equity financing of nearly \$1.4 billion.

United Brands edged up 1/8 to 15 5/8 on turnover of 632,500 shares after trading at a yearly low of 14 3/4.

A similar small net change was displayed by American General Insurance, off 1/4 to 23 1/4, or within less than a point of its 1971 high at 24. A number of insurance stocks were good performers last week. Volume for American General totaled 603,700 shares.

Sony, after announcing new plans to market records, added 1/2 to 28, 12 sold during the week at a new high of 29 1/2 as a total of 477,100 shares changed hands.

National Cash Register, in a week that saw some computer stocks finish with losses, slipped a point to 46 1/2 on turnover of 465,800 shares.

Eurobonds

(Continued from Page 9)

Eurobond total for the period ended June 10, 1971, was \$1.2 billion, up from \$1.1 billion a year ago.

The only noteworthy event on the secondary market—where the two rival clearing systems, Euroclear and Cede, have begun negotiations on linking the systems. The move, proposed by the recent meeting of the Association of International Bond Dealers, is aimed at enabling traders belonging to one system to clear transactions with those of the other without having to belong to both systems.

Nixon Names CEA Aide

WASHINGTON, June 13 (Reuters)—President Nixon has nominated Ezra Solomon, a Stanford University professor, to succeed Hendrick Bouthakker, as a member of his three-man Council of Economic Advisors.

Mr. Solomon, 51, was born in Rangoon and became a U.S. citizen in 1952.



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Fox Realigns Board

NEW YORK, June 13 (Reuters)—Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp. said that William T. Gossett has been named chairman of the board, David P. Zarnuck to the newly created post of chairman emeritus and Dennis C. Stanfill has been reelected president.

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| BELGIUM (AIR) | \$100.00 | \$55.00 | \$27.50 |
| DENMARK (AIR) | \$174.00 | \$91.00 | \$45.50 |
| FINLAND (AIR) | \$23.00 | \$13.00 | \$6.50 |
| FRANCE (AIR) | \$93.00 | \$49.00 | \$24.50 |
| GERMANY (AIR) | \$80.00 | \$42.00 | \$21.00 |
| GREAT BRITAIN (AIR) | \$7.85 | \$4.12 | \$2.06 |
| GREECE (AIR) | \$780.00 | \$405.00 | \$202.50 |
| IRAN (AIR) | \$33.50 | \$17.50 | \$8.75 |
| IRELAND (AIR) | \$7.85 | \$4.12 | \$2.06 |
| ISRAEL (AIR) | \$29.50 | \$15.50 | \$7.75 |
| ITALY (AIR) | \$13.00 | \$7.00 | \$3.50 |
| LEBANON (AIR) | \$33.50 | \$17.50 | \$8.75 |
| LUXEMBOURG (AIR) | \$100.00 | \$55.00 | \$27.50 |
| NETHERLANDS (AIR) | \$80.00 | \$42.00 | \$21.00 |
| NORWAY (AIR) | \$177.00 | \$92.00 | \$46.00 |
| PORTUGAL (AIR) | \$634.00 | \$331.50 | \$165.75 |
| SPAIN (AIR) | \$1,550.00 | \$810.00 | \$405.00 |
| SWEDEN (AIR) | \$147.00 | \$76.00 | \$38.00 |
| SWITZERLAND (AIR) | \$95.00 | \$50.00 | \$25.00 |
| TURKEY (AIR) | \$25.00 | \$13.00 | \$6.50 |
| YUGOSLAVIA (AIR) | \$25.00 | \$13.00 | \$6.50 |
| OTHER EUROPE (AIR) | \$25.00 | \$13.00 | \$6.50 |
| U.S.A. (AIR) | \$45.50 | \$23.50 | \$11.75 |

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Porsche of Marko, Van Lennep Limp to Victory at Le Mans

By Bernard Kirsh

LE MANS, France, June 13 (AP)—In a race where everyone had his own sort of luck, the Porsche racing team was fortunate enough to have six entries in the 24 Hours of Le Mans. Four of them, including the three favorites, were not around when the race ended at 4 p.m. (1800 GMT) today.

The first, after recovering from wheel-bearing illness, came home to finish second. The sixth crossed the finish line with the "brakes completely dead," an electrical problem and a gear box which didn't work.

Marko of Austria, and Gys Van Lennep of the Netherlands, neither of whom had ever won a 24-hour event, today delighted and lovingly kissed their Porsche 917 to victory here in the world's most trying one-day test of endurance.

Only 14 of the 48-car field survived. Three, finishing fourth, fifth and sixth, were Ferraris. With an hour remaining in the race and Marko seemingly taking it nice and easy around the circuit, Van Lennep refused to act like a winner. "The one who's lucky in life and has the better car usually wins," he said while standing near his pit. The Dutchman had two reasons for the hesitation. Reason No. 1 was explained after the race by Marko, who drove the closing laps.

"The gear box didn't work properly for the last ten hours and we had to double-clutch on every shift," he said. "I was driving very carefully."

The electrical difficulty allowed the Porsche to run on only one of its two alternators. But Marko said, "I could have gone quicker but I just went as fast as necessary to win. The brakes were also dead—just completely dead."

He went fast enough and safe enough and gave his Martini racing team a comfortable victory over the John Wyer Porsche duo, Richard and David Brabham, who were last year, and Herbert Muller of West Germany. The winning Porsche traveled 5,335.313 kilometers for an average speed of 222.304 kilometers an hour. The Wyer machine covered 5,308.248 kilometers, for an average of 221.181 kmh.

The victory gave Porsche its second triumph at Le Mans, its second straight, and permits the West German company to bow out in winning style. A rule passed by the Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile requires all cars to have a maximum capacity of 3 liters in 1972 as compared to 5 liters this season. Porsche does not find this a practical move because of pollution laws which will soon cause car companies to build larger engines.

Van Lennep's second reason for pessimism was the weird pattern of events which began several hours after yesterday's start of the race. Every car which took the lead or came into contention, met with the wrong side of luck.

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Hulme widened his margin to more than five seconds before the failure of a transmission part sided him.

Hulme won \$17,000 and Revson netted \$12,400 from the \$75,000 prize.

Ryun Captures 800 Meters in California AAU Track Meet

ATWATER, Calif., June 13 (AP)—Jim Ryun continued his streak with an easy victory in the 800-meter run at the Pacific Coast Association AAU track and field championships yesterday.

Ryun, who holds the world record in both the 800-yard and 1 mile, was timed in 1:49.3 seconds.

The former Kansas star, now representing the Oregon Track Club, was boxed in among the men field the entire first lap but couldn't get loose until the 100-yard mark.

Ryun took the lead from pacemaker Ron Pennington of Stanford at the head of the pack and won going away, with a time of 1:49.3 seconds.

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"Roger used to be invincible until I joined him. If I were to buy a farm, I'd be hit by the night. Anyway, everytime I come to Le Mans I get a good night's sleep."

The next big-name driver to say nighty-night was Vic Elford of Britain, who had Gérard Larrousse for a co-pilot. Defective bolts caused the fan for cooling the engine of the Martini Porsche to come off.

Elford, one of the race favorites, was third at the time Jo Siffert, of Switzerland, one of two hopes for the Wyer team, was the next to discover bad luck. He almost recovered. While moving into second place his Porsche developed rear suspension troubles which caused a 45-minute pit stop and threw it out of the top ten. The damage was fixed, and after moving back up in the standings, Siffert's Porsche developed an oil leak and never recovered.

Chasing Rodriguez

For all of yesterday and most of this morning, all the sports cars and prototypes were chasing the Wyer Porsche of Rodriguez, the man established as this year's favorite. Several hours after dawn, Rodriguez's co-pilot, Jackie Oliver, said: "It just goes to show you shouldn't bet on the favorite." A busted oil tank sent the Mexican back to his hotel.

Red had next sought the Ferrari of Jose Junqueira and Nini Vaccarella. It found them when the Ferrari had the lead. A broken gear box was the coup de grace.

The No. 22 Porsche of Van Lennep and Marko slipped into the lead at about 5:30 this morning and never lost it as the field thinned out.

Other earlier dropouts included the Chevrolet Corvette of Henri Greder and Marie-Claude Beaumont, who yesterday became the first woman to drive in the 24-hour race here in 30 years, and the Martini team Porsche of Viliert Knudsen and Reinhold Joest. Cars finishing six to 13 were Porsches as 23 of them, 27 privately owned, were entered.

Third was the North American Racing Team Ferrari of Sam Posey, who finished fourth last year, and Tony Adamowicz.

The fourth car was driven by Christopher Craft and David Weir, and the Mart Team Ferrari 360GTB—a standard production type except with a bigger engine—finished fifth.

The drivers were Bob Grossman and Luigi Chinetti, whose father won this race three times.

Jack Scores

HOEKSTRADE, West Germany, June 13 (UPI)—Belgium's Jackie Joxe won the 24-hour Le Mans race today on the Hockenheim Ring in a Ferrari 312B. The race doesn't count toward the world championship.

Joxe covered the 35 laps of the Formula One event in 1 hour 10 minutes 11.7 seconds at an average speed of 203.1 kilometers an hour.

Second over the 20.8-kilometer distance was Ronnie Peterson of Sweden at the wheel of a March-Ford. Peterson finished about a minute behind the winner. John Surtees of Britain came third in a Surtees.

Joxe took the lead from the start and drew steadily clear. He broke his own lap record for the track, turning the 5.8-kilometer circuit in 1:55.5 for a speed of 203.3 kmh.

Springboks Top France in Rugby

BLOEMFONTEIN, South Africa, June 13 (UPI)—South Africa beat France, 22-9, yesterday in the first rugby union test match of the current tour.

The Springboks, cheered on by a capacity crowd of 70,000 fans, led 6-3 at the interval. It was France's first defeat in seven tour matches.

Fullback Ian McAlum kicked 13 points in all by converting tries by winger Gert Muller and scrumhalf Joggie Jansen. A dropped goal by Piet Visage completed South Africa's scoring.

Jean-Louis Berot, taking the hits in place of fullback Pierre Villier, who has injured in a Cape Town hospital with a fractured spine, succeeded with only two of nine penalty attempts. Skipper Jean Trillo got the other points with a try.

Smith Takes Title

BECKENHAM, England, June 13 (UPI)—Stan Smith of Pasadena, Calif., beat unseeded Pranjit Lall of India yesterday for the men's singles title at the Kent lawn tennis championships.

The second-seeded American dropped the first set but triumphed 6-2, 6-2, 6-2.

Smith, on leave from the U.S. Army, also took three sets to dispose of Denmark's Jan Leschke, 2-6, 6-3, 7-5, in the semifinals.

Lall qualified when top-seeded Clark Graebner of New York City had to retire with a pulled stomach muscle in the second set with the score at 6-2, 6-2.

Top-seeded Kerry Melville of Australia took the women's singles title by beating Kristy Pigeon of Danville, Calif., 6-0, 3-6, 6-7.

Miss Pigeon beat Patti Hogan of La Jolla, Calif., 4-6, 6-2, 6-3, in the semifinals.

Hogan was booed off court by spectators following temperamental outbursts against line judges, the umpire and members of the crowd over disputed line calls. Miss Hogan left the court crying bitterly.

Lunn Leads Kemper Golf by 1

CHARLOTTE, N.C., June 13 (UPI)—Some of the golfers who are looking ahead to next week's United States Open championship tried to dislodge Bob Lunn as the leader in the \$150,000 Kemper Open yesterday. They failed. The 46-year-old California professional, after a one-under-par 71 for a 54-hole aggregate of 208, still led by one stroke.

And just as it was at the end of Friday's play at the Quail Hollow Country Club, slim David Douglas, who won the event in 1969, was in second place. He trailed Lunn by one shot after a 71 for 207.

The big charge came from several others. Lee Trevino, the 1969 U.S. Open champion, fired a six-under-par 66. That gave him 208 and put him in a three-way tie for third with Gary Player and Tom Weiskopf. Player's third-round on the 1,778-yard course was a 68, while Weiskopf had a 70.

Filly Bred in U.S. Wins French Classic

CHANTILLY, France, June 13 (UPI)—Mrs. Alec Head's American-bred filly, Pistol Paquer, trained by her husband and ridden by their son, Freddy, today won the 13th running of the \$280,000 Prix de Diane by a nose from Cambriz.

The time for the 2,100 meters was 2 minutes 12 1/5 seconds in the richest race for 3-year-old fillies in the world. The winner, by Gun Bow out of Georges Gild, earned \$168,000.

THEIR-ROUND LEADERS

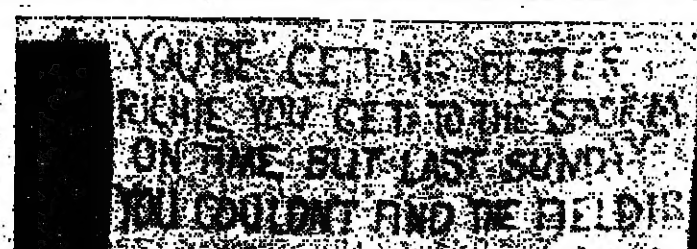
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Ashe, Laver Advance; Meet in Wills Semifinal

BRISTOL, England, June 13 (AP)—Rod Laver of Australia defeated Britain's Roger Taylor and Marty Riessen of Evanston, Ill. today and now meets Arthur Ashe of Gum Springs, Va., in the semifinals of the \$200,000 Wills tennis tournament.

Laver defeated Taylor, 6-1, 3-6, 6-2, in the second round and then went into the semifinals with a 4-6, 6-3, 6-2 victory over Riessen.

Ashe defeated Dick Cressy of Australia, 6-4, 6-4, in a second-round match and then knocked out Australia's Ken Rosewall, 7-6, 7-5. Rosewall had eliminated Spain's Andres Gimeno, 6-3, 6-4. The other semifinal will be between South African Bob Maud and Cliff Drysdale.

Drysdale defeated Tom Okker of the Netherlands, 7-6, 6-7, 7-6, in today's third round and Maud ousted Roy Emerson of Australia, 4-6, 7-5, 7-6.

In yesterday's second-round matches, Cliff Drysdale of South Africa beat Charlie Pasarell of San Francisco, Puerto Rico, 7-6, 6-3; Marty Riessen, of Evanston, Ill., beat Bob Lutz of Los Angeles, 6-2, 6-7, 6-2; Maud beat Niki Pilić of Yugoslavia, 6-2, 6-3, and Roy Emerson of Australia beat Dennis Ralston of Bakerfield, Calif., 3-6, 7-6, 6-2.

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David Douglas 71-69-71-207
Tom Weiskopf 69-70-70-209
Gary Player 70-67-69-206
Lee Trevino 68-73-66-207
Aldo Palmer 70-71-68-209
George Johnston 70-70-69-209
Arnold Barber 68-70-72-210
Larry Ziegler 70-68-72-210
Rod Smith 69-70-72-210
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Miss Melville reached the final by beating country woman Wendy Gilchrist, 6-3, 6-1.

Christine James and Nell Truman of England defeated Olga Morosova and I. Jansone of the Soviet Union in the final of the women's doubles, 6-4, 6-7.

Freelancing Wins

BRISTOL, June 13 (AP)—Frank Frothing of Port Landendale, Pa., beat Edison Mandarino of Brazil, 10-6, 6-3, in the Uster Grass Court men's singles final yesterday.

In the women's singles final, Lesley Bowrey of Australia beat countrywoman Leslie Hunt, 6-4, 6-8.

Miss Heidman Wins

NOTTINGHAM, England, June 13 (AP)—Julie Heidman of New York City defeated Betty Hawcroft of Australia yesterday, 7-6, 6-4, 6-2, to win the women's singles title at the John Player tournament.

James Fillo of Chile won the men's crown with a 6-2, 6-3 triumph over Gregory Perkins of Australia. Fillo had advanced by beating Australia's Colin Dibley, 6-4, 6-6, in the semifinals and Perkins beat Frank Sedgman of Australia, 4-6, 6-3, 7-5.

Australia's Margaret Court won a round-robin event with a 6-3, 6-2 victory over Britain's Virginia Wade. Bartier, Miss Wade lost to 19-year-old Australian aborigine Evonne Goolagong, 6-4, 10-12, 1-6, to give Miss Goolagong second place in the standings. Miss Wade was third and Francoise Durr of France last. Mrs. Court didn't lose a match in the competition.

Major League Standings

NATIONAL LEAGUE

| Team | W | L | Pct. | GB |
|--------------|----|----|------|--------|
| Pittsburgh | 31 | 23 | .571 | — |
| St. Louis | 29 | 25 | .538 | 2 1/2 |
| Chicago | 28 | 26 | .519 | 3 1/2 |
| Philadelphia | 23 | 31 | .430 | 12 1/2 |

Western Division

| Team | W | L | Pct. | GB |
|---------------|----|----|------|----|
| San Francisco | 40 | 23 | .636 | — |
| Los Angeles | 38 | 25 | .600 | 2 |
| Houston | 30 | 30 | .500 | 10 |
| Atlanta | 24 | 34 | .413 | 16 |
| Cincinnati | 24 | 34 | | |

